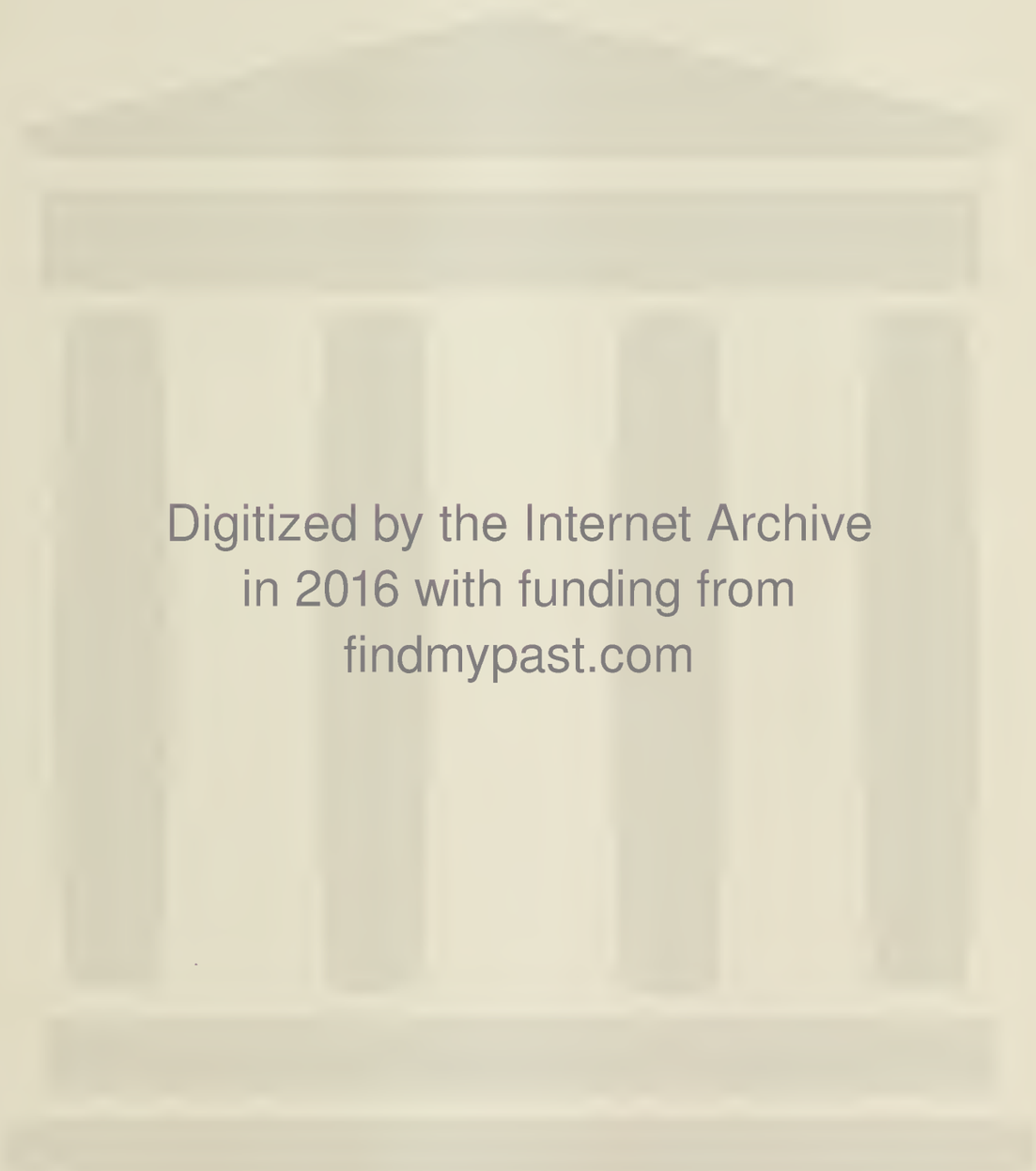
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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS

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THE

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OF

HISTORY AND POLITICS

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH
EDITOR

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IOWA CITY : A MINIATURE FRONTIER OF THE FORTIES

Cold census figures for 1840 placed the western edge of settlement about sixty miles west of Fort Armstrong on the Mississippi River. In the interior, on the Iowa River and near the present Iowa City, lived the Sauk and Fox Indians. Among them was the trading house of John Gilbert, an agent of the American Fur Company, who had located there in 1836. While at Fort Armstrong in the fall of that year he induced two young Hoosiers, Philip Clark and Eli Myers, to come to the Iowa River Valley where they staked their cabins and claims. Revisiting Indiana they spread the news of their discoveries, and the next spring, accompanied by four neighbors, they returned to their claims with teams, plows, and seed. These men were the spray thrown in advance by the tides of migration.

Forsaking the American Fur Company, Gilbert decided to erect a post of his own. Twenty-eight men — eight with families — came during the next year and Gilbert engaged workmen to cut and fit logs, dig the cellar, lay the puncheon floors, and finish the clapboard roof for the new trading house. The structure, twenty by sixty feet, contained two cabins with a roofed space between them. At the dedication on July 4, 1837, the thirteen or fourteen men joined in a celebration of songs, stories, and speeches. Some time before one of the builders had hauled up from Bloomington (the present Muscatine) three barrels of whiskey. But only two barrels of this had been given in trade to Poweshiek, the Fox chief.

In the fall the Indians left for their winter hunts. Some

of the white settlers went to Bloomington on the Mississippi River and others located along that stream to chop wood for the steamboats. Others went to Rock Island and a few were retained by Gilbert and by Wheaton Chase, who had taken charge of the American Fur Company post. The winter found the score of settlers without mail or news from the outside world and with no place to go. Bridges and roads were lacking, no reading matter was at hand, but all had longings for the friends and relatives left in Indiana. Life was monotonous, relieved only by ambitions for the future.

To break this monotony six persons met at Gilbert's house in January, 1838. Resolutions adopted at this "large and respectable meeting" asked for roads, bridges, mail facilities, and a post office and postmaster. Pleasant Harris and John Gilbert as delegates walked to Burlington to present these wants to the legislature there in session. Governor Henry Dodge treated the men kindly and in reply to his question as to the number of people on the Iowa River was told there were about 1500. The Governor was greatly surprised and Gilbert's friends were amazed, until the delegate explained that the Governor had not asked what color the people were!

But events were outrunning the resolutions. Johnson County was created in December, 1837, and the Territory of Iowa the next July. Thirty-eight men came to the county in 1838 — about half of them with families. The widely scattered settlers generally located near timber. A gristmill, a ferry, a sawmill, and various cabins sprang up. Rival towns were created on paper. In the fall fevers and ague visited the settlers. Eight or ten families formed the ebb tide of emigration by returning to Indiana. Money was subscribed for a courthouse and a frame house of two stories, twenty by thirty-two, was put up at a place called

Napoleon. Here the first election of the county was held on September 10, 1838.

"The Commissioners shall proceed to lay out a town, to be called Iowa City." This fiat in a law of January 21, 1839, created a village. Without the magnetism of mines, without shipping facilities, without factories, railroads, or trunk routes for travel — without any resources except the latent wealth in the soil — Iowa City was born. After the meeting of the commissioners in May, the capitol grounds were laid out, the town platted, and the first lots sold — all within less than four months.

Raw and unkempt as it was, the village did not hide its new fame. The mild winter had invited immigration. Over a hundred men — about half with families — settled in the county during the year. Among them was Chauncey Swan, one of the commissioners who located the capital. Crowds of visitors, entertained at Wheaton Chase's trading house, selected claims for their future homes. Poweshiek's band moved up the river to hunt and trap and gradually migrated to the westward. Interest in furs, trading houses, and Indians was shifting to public lands, immigration, markets, roads, homes, and the new capitol.

Demands for county roads increased with the quickening tide of incoming farmers. Samuel H. McCrory located the first road from Iowa City to Napoleon — a distance of less than two miles. At almost every session of the county commissioners petitions for new roads or for the extension of old ones were presented. "To view, mark and lay out a road" became an oft repeated form in the minutes of these commissioners. Road viewers and supervisors were allied with surveyors, chainmen, and flagmen in opening travel routes between farms and the village.

Four territorial roads linked Iowa City with the Mississippi River ports in 1840, according to John B. Newhall,

pioneer publicity man. To the northwest the old "Military Road" led to Dubuque and its 1200 people — a distance of seventy-five miles. To Davenport containing 513 people another road ran eastward fifty-two miles. Over the thirty odd miles of road to Bloomington with its 530 people mail, passengers, and freight were carried. From Burlington, a city of 1200 inhabitants, a road led northwestwardly to Iowa City, the new capital of the Territory — a distance of sixty-five miles.

New ferries furnish another index of immigration. South of the village Benjamin Miller's ferry had been in operation since 1838. In 1840 Sturgis and Douglas paid $5.00 for a license to keep a ferry "acrost the Iowa River". Single footmen were charged 12½ cents. The rate was 37½ cents for one horse and wagon and 50 cents for one yoke of oxen or two horses and one wagon; a man with a horse paid 25 and 12½ cents respectively for each additional horse or yoke of oxen; cattle in droves were ferried at 6½ cents each; the ferriage for sheep or hogs was 3 cents per head. Other ferries were established with somewhat lower tolls but at higher license fees.

Taverns and stores were also responding to the needs of the increasing immigration. South of the hamlet at Napoleon, Wheaton Chase's tavern was set up. His bond and license of April 20, 1839, required him "to suffer no disorder nor unlawful games to be used in his house." Edwin Forter's license of $20.00 permitted him "to sell Goods" for a year. During the summer Asaph Allen and G. T. Andrews had connected two log-cabins to be used for a tavern. The roofed space between was a barroom. In the fall Walter Butler and Asaph Allen were each granted a license to keep a tavern. Allen's place, sixteen by eighteen feet, contained but one room. The jovial landlord directed his lodgers up a ladder to the loft where many

aristocratic and fashionable visitors spent their first night on the Iowa frontier.

Would that we might have heard the talk at the taverns and on the sprawling streets. The location, survey, and price of lands, distances, springs, timber, and roads made up much of the speech of land-seekers. The roads to Burlington and Bloomington, the navigation of the Mississippi, the fever and ague of 1839, news from distant relatives, and the price of bacon, flour, seed, and pork were topics of concern. Hundreds were impatient for the opening of land offices where they might purchase lands and change their titles from squatter claims to fee simple. Great ox-teams brought in supplies of farming tools from the Mississippi River posts. On the prairies the thud of the axe — a conquering implement on this frontier — could be heard as the farmer chopped holes in the sod to receive the seed. Occasional Indians watched the heavy plows drawn by yokes of oxen and heard the crack of whips and the hoarse voices of the drivers. More entertained than instructed the Indians learned little about farming, but adopted quickly the short exclamations of the drivers at the heavy "red roots" when the plow jolted against them.

Religious outposts were quickly planted on the Iowa frontier to further the influence of Methodists, Catholics, Presbyterians, and Baptists. In 1839 the Methodists held their first services in a residence, and by the next year were fully organized. Father S. C. Mazzuchelli, a young Dominican missionary priest, celebrated the first mass in December, 1840, at the home of a German mechanic. Long missionary tours took the priest to Dubuque, Galena, and Burlington. At the public sales of lots in Iowa City he had purchased a fine building site and on June 12, 1841, Bishop Loras laid the first corner stone of the church building. "A pile of earth", described the priest, "left by the

workmen after digging the foundation served as pulpit for the orator.'' It was with joy that the young priest the next year reported that in ''the Mission of the Capitol City of Iowa may be counted five hundred Catholics''.

But some darker hues appear in these fugitive frontier pictures. Oliver Atwood, a Methodist preacher, was murdered in 1838 on the nearby prairies — supposedly by Indians. In the next year fines were imposed for the sale of whiskey to the Indians and Elizabeth Skinner was indicted for breaking one of the ten commandments. Andrew J. Gregg, an intelligent and athletic looking man and a jail-breaker from Michigan, had fled to Iowa City where he was soon arrested and indicted for ''passing counterfeit money''.

The county had no place to confine him, so Gregg, who was without any sureties, became a prisoner without bail or jail. Thirteen or fourteen men, besides the sheriff, took turns at furnishing a watch over him. The expenses for the county mounted as it paid bills for ''attending prisoner'', ''guarding prisoner'', ''services as guard'', ''board and attention'', ''boarding'', and ''committing said prisoner''. Such costs were almost equal to the revenues from taxation, and in desperation the county finally committed the prisoner to Jonathan Harris under oath. ''You do solumnly sware in the presence of All Mighty God that you will well take the body of Andrew J. Gregg into your Custody and there safely keep him so far as your abilities until the next session of the District Court in and for the County of Johnson Territory of Iowa.''

Gregg was boarded, chained, tied, guarded, and hand-yoked, by turns — but finally escaped. Later his name was vaguely linked with Bowie knives, pistols, horse thieves, and counterfeiters. He became a legendary figure but the contemporary description of ''a fine-looking fellow'' gradu-

ally faded into that of "a gentlemanly cut-throat" forty years later.

Other rough aspects of the frontier appear. In 1840 prisoners were "teamed" to Bloomington for safe-keeping and the costs included board, candles, guards, and irons for the prisoners. A tavern keeper was allowed $1.75 for "dieting" United States prisoners. Ludwig C. Hartz hanged himself at a tavern where he lodged — and perhaps had boarded. An infant child was found dead at the house of Mason Vail. The county paid a doctor for medical services to a "Miss Merrit", a charity patient, charitably called a "pauper".

Doctors and lawyers had meanwhile joined the streams of farmers, storekeepers, laborers, and freighters to the new village. A century and a half earlier in William Penn's frontier colony such professional men had not been so welcome. "Of Lawyers and Physicians", wrote a Quaker there and then, "I shall say nothing, because this countrey is very Peaceable and Healthy; long may it so continue and never have occasion for the Tongue of the one, nor the Pen of the other, both equally destructive to Men's Estates and Lives."

Dr. Henry Murray, arriving in 1839 fresh from a medical school of Kentucky, ministered to the needs of the sick people of Iowa City for forty years. Dr. Isaiah P. Hamilton was the first county recorder. Dr. Jesse Bowen, six feet six inches tall, rode his favorite charger "Charley", like a grenadier. Next to his profession he was devoted to Henry Clay and Whig principles. From Bloomington came lawyers attracted to the town by the business growing out of land sales and by its political atmosphere. In 1841 in Iowa City and from adjoining counties sixteen lawyers were ready to counsel, to prosecute, and to defend — as well as to collect for and from clients in the hamlet.

Chauncey Swan was authorized to lay out the village and the capitol site. In June, 1839, he bought tools and a large scraper at Dubuque. Surveyors, laborers, and workmen with teams were employed and a stone quarry was opened near the Iowa River. Advertisements for bids for the building of the capitol were placed in territorial newspapers. The sale of lots was advertised in eastern papers and hundreds of maps of the village were distributed. Colonel Thomas Cox, portly and dignified, was the chief surveyor and supervised the survey of the town in July and August. Two thousand stakes were used in making the surveys for the village and fifty posts nine feet long were used for the corners of the capitol square and for various lots reserved from sale. White oaks, bur oaks, hazel brush, and heavy vegetation made the work of surveying more difficult than the laying out of sections and townships on the open prairies, and Swan complained that the luxuriant vegetation and heavy dews made work early in the forenoon impossible without exposure to "illness and death".

The first sale of town lots was conducted for three days — August 18-20, 1839 — at the "Lean Back Hall", a rudely constructed building provided with liquors in front and sleeping quarters in the back. Here the perspiring auctioneer sold 103 lots for a total of $17,292. Governor Robert Lucas, who, with his two daughters, had come to the village on horseback from Burlington, was a spectator at the sales. The Governor did not patronize either end of the "Lean Back Hall", but lodged at the home of Matthew Teneick. He advised Swan to increase the work at the quarries to insure a larger amount and better grade of stone. In the next month the big scraper was removing ground from the capitol site eastward toward Iowa Avenue. The site was being transferred from surveyors to architects and builders.

On November 12, 1839, John F. Rague and Company of Springfield, Illinois, secured the contract for the building of the capitol, and for the next four months Iowa City awaited the coming of the architects. Two years before Rague had won a prize of $200 for the best plans for a statehouse at Springfield and during the construction he had been retained as the supervising architect at a salary of $1000 per year. He brought with him in the spring a force of laborers, masons, stonecutters, and carpenters. By April the little capital was vibrating with activity. The grounds were cleared and digging for the foundation was resumed. The original contract, later greatly modified, required the completion of the building in two years at a cost of $46,000.

To John B. Newhall, a careful observer, the village in May presented "all the appearance, bustle, and activity of years, rather than a prodigy of months." Its population he estimated at 700; it contained a "spacious city hotel", three or four brick buildings, ten dry goods, grocery, and provision stores, one drug store, a saddlery, two blacksmiths, a gunsmith, four "coffeehouses", a church, a primary school, four lawyers, and three physicians. He saw the "rising" of one hundred buildings and heard the workmen engaged on about fifty more. A Pennsylvanian had a frame house containing his goods. "Five days ago", said the owner, "my house was in the woods, growing."

A visit of Joseph Jefferson, the actor, to Chicago in 1838 yielded a picture of scenes in most part repeated in the frontier capital of Iowa a few years later. Jefferson walked through Chicago, a town of about 2000 people, "busy even then, people hurrying to and fro, frame buildings going up, board sidewalks going down, new hotels, new churches, new theatres, everything new. Saw and hammer, — saw! saw! bang! bang! look out for the drays! — bright and

muddy streets, — gaudy-colored calicos, blue and red flannels and striped ticking hanging outside the drygoods stores, bar-rooms, real-estate offices, attorneys at law, — oceans of them!" In 1840 the population of Chicago was 4470 — only about eight or ten times that of Iowa City.

Then came 1840 — a year of raucous politics and hero worship! Harrison and Clay were the booming notes in Whig campaign songs. Van Buren was President illumined by the legend of Old Hickory. Contemporaries of Washington were still active, and the Revolutionary War was closer in years to its veterans than the Civil War is to its few survivors in 1930. Abraham Lincoln, hardly known to any of the pioneers on the Iowa River, was an obscure member of the legislature of Illinois. The new republic of Texas was a land of promise but Oregon was an unknown country. It was the springtime of national growth and expansion. Iowa City was attracting the best blood from the east and south. Youth, optimism, hard work, and opportunity were the elements of conquest on the Iowa frontier of the forties.

In July, forty or fifty settlers departed from Johnson County to the Dubuque land office with wagons, provisions, camp equipage, and plats of two townships of land. For over a year they had been in possession of their farms; surveys had been made; timber had been cleared; the ground plowed; crops sown and reaped; and buildings constructed. The Johnson County Claim Association, of which many were members, regulated their surveys and protected their rights, but it could not issue a title or resist the sovereign claims of the government.

Both private and government surveys measured in chains, rods, and yards, appeared in the recorded claims of the Association. In hazardous English and spelling appeared boundary lines of furrows, the Iowa River, ra-

vines, the Indian boundary, and the meanders of streams. One line ran to a "hickry Elm at the mouth of a slough" and another to a "hickery Stake in the Prairie". Marks and initials hewn on bur oaks, white oaks, "burch" trees, maples, sycamores, willows, and cottonwoods were made and respected. And in the Iowa River Valley with its free acres the pioneers preferred — or at least understood — locations in terms of cherry stakes, mill sites, trading houses, marshes, and "slues" to those of the mathematics of latitude and longitude.

"We traveled by easy stages," wrote a member of the group, "and reached Dubuque on Saturday, August 1st. On Monday morning early we had made all arrangements for the sale. The bidder and assistant bidder had furnished themselves with large plats of the two townships to be sold, with each claimant's name plainly written on the subdivision which he wished to purchase. When the time came for the sale to begin, the crier stepped out on the platform, inviting the bidder and assistant to take places on the platform beside him, took hold of one side of the plat, and began at section No. 1, and called out each eighty acre subdivision as rapidly as he could speak. When he came to a tract with a name written on it, he would strike his hammer down, and give the name to the clerk. He thus proceeded taking the sections in numerical order. The two townships were offered in less than thirty minutes."

A semi-circle of silent buyers watched this process as the crier called out the sections of township seventy-nine north, range six, and township seventy-nine north, range five. By twos and threes purchasers advanced to the platform where piles of United States silver coin and Bank of Missouri bank notes were counted. The first certificate, No. 1208 for 240 acres, was issued to Peter H. Pattison and James P. Carleton. The 57 purchases by the Johnson

County men on the first day ranged from 8.46 acres to 327.36 acres and the total sales of 8,273.65 acres netted the land office $10,342.06. Samuel H. McCrory, the bidder, purchased 240 acres.

Farmers, doctors, county officials, merchants, and hotel keepers made purchases. "On the 5th of August", noted Cyrus Sanders, county surveyor and the assistant bidder, "we started for home, many of us enjoying the comfortable feeling of being owners of real estate for the first time in our lives." This process of acquiring lands — the prime motive in the westward drift of population — was repeated a thousand times on the American frontiers.

By this time the spirit of work and building was emanating from the capitol square. Piles of lumber, sand, lime, "stone in the rough", buckets, shovels, spades, carpenters' and masons' tools, and ropes — teamsters, blacksmiths, stonecutters, and common laborers — such were the daily scenes in the summer and fall of the early forties. Great blocks of limestone were hauled by teams of horses and oxen from the nearby "city" quarry and from the Cedar River quarry about twenty miles away. Commissioner Swan and the foremen at the quarries kept the daily payrolls. The specie hauled from Burlington required a safe which had been purchased in St. Louis and brought overland from Bloomington. Heavy reports from blasting charges of powder and brimstone at the quarries echoed down the valley. Almost every kind of labor — skilled and unskilled — was in demand.

On July 4, 1840, work gave way to a holiday celebration. The southeast corner of the capitol had been built two or three feet above the ground. Men, women, and children of the county and many visitors watched Governor Lucas settle the corner stone in place. A copper box fitted into the stone contained the laws of the United States and of

the Territory, the Organic Act, the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, territorial newspapers, and specimens of silver and copper coins. The reading of the Declaration of Independence, a dinner, toasts, and a "grand ball" in the evening ended the ceremonies. When would the capitol be finished? When would the Governor and the legislators come? When would Iowa City become the capital in fact as well as in law?

Work, anticipation, and preparation marked the summer and fall months of 1841. Walter Butler, the tavern keeper, aided by several public spirited men soon furnished a building for the temporary quarters of the legislators to convene in December, 1841, at Iowa City. More buildings rose; a millinery store was opened; at the new "English and Classical School" of C. F. Hardie tuition was payable in cash, produce, or mechanical labor; Virginia tobaccos, hats, shoes, dry goods, queensware, burned brick, and hides were some of the offerings for sale; press and type for *The Iowa Standard* had been brought in by ox-team and the issue of April 29, 1841, carried the mournful tidings of the death of the Whig President. A barber invited all "to have the protuberance of his chin developed from the face, so smoothly, that you may go to sleep under the operation." The wife of Dr. Henry Murray who had come as a bride to the capital heard and saw with wonder the noise and newness of this frontier community. Sixty-seven years later she recalled the wild strawberry patch and the rattlesnake den located only a few blocks from the rising capitol.

The village was becoming a "city"; the taverns "hotels". Generous estimates of population appeared and notices of brick buildings found their way to printed accounts. *Godey's Lady's Book* was widely advertised and a school for "young ladies" was opened. A tailor, a "Ladies' Riding Habit and Pelessee Maker", was another new-

comer. A course of twenty-four lessons in vocal music was offered according to the "Pestalozrian system of instruction." In midsummer a "cotillion" was held at the National Hotel where a large number "engaged in the serpentine windings of the dance".

In thus becoming more urbane the "city" did not escape the sarcasm of James G. Edwards, a Burlington editor, who was pleased neither over the loss of the seat of government by his city nor with his meals in Iowa City. "It is not", he described, "the land of milk and honey, that is certain for we saw neither on the table at any of the five or six meals we partook. Chickens must also be scarce, for though there was one plate appeared on one occasion, we could not get even a 'drumstick' before it was all gone. It appeared to us as though they did not expect anybody to eat any thing before the Legislature convened there, or they were saving their provender to make a good impression on the 'members'."

The words "port of Iowa City" and "steamboat landing" echoed the longing hopes of a community located in the interior, and dependent upon the Mississippi River towns for its imports. The arrival of the steamer, *Ripple,* at Iowa City on June 20, 1841, was deemed an extraordinary event. A committee of citizens invited Captain D. Jones to a public dinner at the City Hotel where a series of toasts, animated and hopeful, predicted the growth of river navigation. Steps were taken to solicit money for the removal of obstructions in the river. Two days later the *Ripple* departed with a cargo consisting of five cases of Iowa City "marble". The freight on the shipment consigned to Burlington and weighing 200,000 pounds was $200.

The Iowa pioneers gladly paid tribute to the majesty and usefulness of the Mississippi, but Charles Dickens, a

traveller on its boats in April, 1842, wrote of it: "It is well for society", he observed, "that this Mississippi, the renowned father of waters, has no children who take after him. It is the beastliest river in the world."

The *Ripple* did not make a return voyage and not until April 21, 1842, did the next steamer, the *Rock River*, make its appearance. Workmen on the top of the capitol raised the cry of "steamboat!" early in the forenoon. "Emerging from time to time", wrote an observer, "from the thickets of timber variegating the banks, puffing, blowing, and converting the deep black waters of the Iowa into foam of milky whiteness, contrasted with the luxuriant foliage of the trees, the deep green of superabundant vegetation, and the azure-golden serenity of the Heavens, afforded a field worthy the contemplation of the enthusiast and could not fail to generate the inspiration of poetry in the heart of the admirer of nature and the ingenuity of man."

But what were the thoughts of a group of Indians on a distant bluff as they watched this invasion of the scenes of their ancient homes?

Captain Thayer bowed to the cheers which greeted his vessel. In the afternoon about a hundred persons boarded the steamer — "elderly citizens with their daughters, young, blushing and gay as the summer's morning, dashing belles and beaux in profusion". Later generations of canoeists have not detracted from the sentiment and romance breathed in these lines. The vessel returned from its fifteen mile cruise upstream without mishap. On the next visit of the *Rock River* on April 20th, Captain Thayer brought in a cargo of freight from Burlington and Bloomington.

Nearly two years passed before the coming of the next steamer, the *Agatha*, in March, 1844. The vessel, 119 feet long, 19 feet wide, and 3 feet in depth, had been built in

1842 at Pittsburgh and was owned by Captain James Lafferty and George Collier of St. Louis. She imported a quantity of freight for Jones and Powell and departed with a shipment of wheat and pork. The captain's hope to return in a few weeks seems never to have been realized.

The *Maid of Iowa,* built at Augusta in the Iowa Territory, in 1842, docked at Iowa City on Sunday, June 2, 1844. The steamer was captained by Daniel M. Repshell, and had a length of 115 feet and a width of 18.4 feet. Joseph Smith of Nauvoo, Illinois, held the craft in trust for the Mormons. On departing she towed a keelboat which broke in two a few miles below the landing and spilled 1000 bushels of corn into the stream.

Late in the same month the *Emma,* constructed two years before at Pittsburgh, and having a length of 127 feet, came to Iowa City with salt and groceries. The second visit of the *Maid of Iowa* in the following September perhaps marked the end of steamboating at Iowa City during the territorial period. Her down stream cargo was wheat, probably destined for St. Louis.

A heavy snowfall on November 16, 1842, ushered in a long, cold winter, and the thick ice groaned on the Iowa River. But Swan's Hotel advertised warm rooms, well furnished, attentive and accommodating servants, and the table furnished the "best the country affords". A large, commodious, warm stable well equipped with horses, carriages, sleighs, and a stage office invited travellers. Dr. Joseph K. Rickey, the dentist, proffered "Butler's Old Stand" enlarged and equipped with stable, horses, and sleighs. The Globe Hotel offering cheap prices sought the patronage of the legislators.

Hotels, observed the village paper in November, were nearly ready for the legislators, visitors, office seekers, and the genteel loafers. The new Governor, John Chambers,

arrived. "For days", remarked an editor the next month, "our hotels, avenues and squares have been filled with a horde of office seekers more numerous than the frogs of Egypt." One Frank Reyno advertised that his place "shaves smoother, washes cleaner and cooks better than any amateur in the west." During the legislative sessions he promised suppers of pheasant, squirrel, and quail on short notice and "served up a little slicker than anything out west."

The lawmakers who assembled in the new capitol in December, 1842, soon became aware of the severe simplicity of its furnishings and furniture. The secretary of the Territory was allowed $46.00 for providing fuel and candles for the Governor's office; $150.00 were expended for 75 cords of wood; the Reverend Samuel C. Mazzuchelli was paid $60.00 for furnishing storage room for twelve months for the furniture of the legislature; Morgan Reno was paid the sum of $76.20 for providing fuel and candles and for removing furniture from Burlington to Iowa City; in another bill he was allowed $2.00 per day for the thirteen days spent in carrying a part of the funds for legislative expenses from Dixon, Illinois, to Iowa City. The stoves were sometimes troublesome pieces of furniture in the cold winters. One day a legislator introduced a motion "that gentlemen be not allowed to smoke in the halls." Immediately another member moved to insert after the word "gentlemen" the words "and the stove".

Occasionally a Puritanical spirit rises out of the sober records of these pioneer lawmakers. A law of 1843 bore the title, "A law to prevent immoral practices". Among other things this law provided a fine of $5.00 for any one over fourteen years of age who performed "common labor" on Sunday. Likewise the selling by grocery stores of liquor except for medical purposes made the seller liable. An-

other provision declared that any one who profanely cursed, damned, or profanely swore within hearing of any religious assemblage was liable to a fine of $1.00 to $.25 for each offense.

In 1843 streams of immigrants continued to pass through, if not to, the little capital. The frontier was extending westward and settlements were leaping over the plains to Oregon. In March, 1843, a meeting of pioneers near the village perfected plans for organizing a company of immigrants to Oregon. Captains were chosen, hunting parties were named, and all males between eighteen and forty-five were required to bear arms. Letters appear from Oregon immigrants giving advice and information for the journey. In May six or eight ox-teams with men, women, children, dogs, and cows passed through Iowa City on their way to the Oregon country.

The spirit of migration was in the Mississippi Valley, animating new land offices, new towns, new lands, fresh opportunities, and new routes. "Our people", noted James K. Paulding, "have more of the locomotive principle than any other, not excepting the Israelites and the Arabs. . . . But the people of the 'Great West' beat all the rest together. I hardly met a man, or indeed woman, who had not travelled from Dan to Beersheba, and back again, and 'settled' as they were pleased to term it, in half a dozen places, some hundreds, perhaps thousands of miles distant from each other."

A generous and grateful posterity in its reminiscent moods sometimes paints pioneer conditions in colors darker than the pioneers themselves saw them. Amusements and fun leavened the hardships on the Iowa frontier of ninety years ago. Lecture courses of home talent were offered and musical programs given. In the legislative chambers the Iowa City Lyceum debated such questions as "Ought

capital punishment exist by law?'' Here, as elsewhere, the fiddle not only yielded its tunes but also played its part in the social life of the frontier. In 1844 a ball was held at the ''City Inn'' by a party of young people who had come up from Bloomington in a dozen sleighs ''richly freighted with the beauty and fashion of our neighbor''.

A grand wolf hunt furnished a diversion. Captains and marshals were elected, rules were adopted, a circle of mounted men with clubs and guns gradually contracted, and — one or two wolves were captured. A notice, ''Marksmen Attend'', invited men to a shooting match on a nearby farm. The prize was a several hundred pound hog at one dollar per chance or shot. Here, it was urged, pork can be secured cheap since the marksmen ''stand the chance of going the 'whole hog' for one dollar.''

On July 4, 1843, Iowa City was heavily charged with joyful enthusiasm and patriotism. From miles around the pioneer folk had come to do homage to the great event of sixty-seven years before. ''By 11 o'clock'', wrote an observer, ''our town contained more of the real bone and sinew of the land, more hoary headed patriots, and decidedly more youth and beauty than we have ever witnessed on a similar occasion in Iowa.'' A procession was formed in front of the capitol square and in the July sun the banners and badges furnished a gay scene. Two hundred school children furnished perhaps more noise than dignity in the procession, which marched over the principal streets. The perspiring throngs then went to the Methodist Church where they applauded, if they did not listen to, the address by H. D. Downey.

But at the public barbecue in the park the hungry folk gathered quickly. From a huge ''Independence Cake'' great slabs were cut and distributed among the people. For a ''lighter'' diversion two balloons were sent up. One of

these sailed far to the north furnishing a spectacle which at present might cause the capsizing of student canoes on the Iowa River.

Then came a broadside of thirteen regular toasts — to the President, Governor, judges, the assembly, and to the Territory. To Iowa City : "May it soon become a mighty Babylon, renowned for its great and good works, as was the former Babylon for its evil works." Then in quick succession came eleven volunteer toasts, the last of which was to the "Ladies of Iowa" : "More beautiful than the flowers that bloom on the prairies. May they be celebrated for their transcendent virtues." Chivalry was not unknown among pioneers on the Iowa frontier eighty and ninety years ago.

With a population of about 900, Iowa City included a little less than one-third of the people of the county in 1846. Arriving in November a pioneer woman found corn selling at $.05 per bushel, and hominy the principal diet. The winter was so cold that the water-mills on the Iowa River froze up and bread became a luxury. The prairies were strewn with the bones of animals that had been the victims of prairie fires. Wild game and fowl were abundant and hungry flocks of wild turkeys were trapped in barnyards where they had ventured in quest of food.

The healthfulness of the prairies and the fountain of youth on the frontier were topics not omitted in the gazetteers and immigration tracts sent to the East, but in reading the professional cards of seven doctors in this village one is impressed more by their claims to skill than by the health of the people. The western frontiers sometimes shook with ague but in Iowa City "Clemen's Indian Tonic", for chills, ague, and fever, was ready for sale. Sufferers could also find relief in "Dr. John Sappington's" fever and ague pills which gave "life and vigor to the whole

vital functions''. Who among the 869 inhabitants in 1846 — excepting the physicians — could resist the testimonials for "Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry", a compound of the moss of Iceland, the wild cherry bark, and tar from pines of northern latitudes? The medicine cured consumption of the lungs, for the term "tuberculosis" was unknown to the pioneers who antedated Pasteur and the germ theory of disease.

But the virtues of "Jew David's or Hebrew Plaster" were pitched in a key several octaves higher. It cured eighteen separate pains and ills — from asthma to gout. Its discoverer was an eminent Jewish doctor whose modesty withheld his name. The remedy was on sale by "respectable dealers in every town and city in the West" and the relief it wrought — not to say incommensurable — was never calculated.

Of the thirty-seven mail routes in the Territory four entered and four left Iowa City. Every Monday at noon the mail departed for Keokuk where it arrived at six in the evening of the next day. The trip to Marion — a weekly service — required twelve hours. Tri-weekly mails from Bloomington arrived at Iowa City at six o'clock the same day. On the three other days the villagers sent their letters to Bloomington.

Transportation, markets, and prices constituted the economic triangle. Inland settlements and river towns were always seeking cheaper importations and greater returns from pioneer produce. Roads, the seasons, and sometimes the coming of the legislators affected prices. In September, 1846, oats sold at $.10-$.12 a bushel and potatoes for $.12-$.16; fresh butter was $.06-$.08 per pound, eggs $.04-$.06 a dozen, chickens $.75-$1.00 a dozen, and lard $.04-$.05 per pound. The housewife paid $1.50-$2.00 a dozen for brooms.

But let the merchant at "No. 1 Commercial Row" cry some of his wares:

Java, Rio & St. Domingo Coffee, brown and loaf Sugar, Young Hyson and Imperial Teas, molasses, mackerel, pepper, allspice, ginger, cinnamon, tobacco, sperm & tallow candles, bar and Castile soap, powder, shot, lead, percussion caps, indigo, madder, copperas, peppersauce and mustard, shells and chocolates, &. &. Furs, Green and Dry Hides, Beeswax, Tallow, Lard, Butter, Eggs, etc. taken at the highest market rate, in exchange for Goods.

As in any place or time there was much of humdrum and prosaic living. An old *Day Book* of 1846 and 1847 now and then relumes a community in its shopping at a frontier store. One account charged the "State of Iowa" with desk locks and another for six yards of crepe to be worn in honor of a member of the legislature who had died. Hogs and wheat were taken in trade and the freighting wagons carried produce to, and a varied lot of goods from, Keokuk and Bloomington. Butter at $.10, coffee at $.12½, whiskey at $.40 per gallon, and eggs at $.05 per dozen are random examples of prices. Of the 4500 or more credit accounts in the *Day Book* less than five per cent are against women. The account of Mrs. James Harlan (later among the wives of senators and cabinet officers) seems not only modern but feminine:

2 yds Lace 15	30
1 pr Scissors	37½
2 prs. Mitts 31 2 pr to be returned	
1 pr. Slippers — Returned	
	67½

"Emigration is pouring in upon us", remarked an observer in 1846, "and settling up the fine country along the Iowa and the Cedar rivers, which .... cannot be surpassed

in beautiful scenery, fertility of soil, health of climate or advantage of locality.'' But with the establishment of the land office in Iowa City this year its records become one of the Domesday books of settlement in Iowa. In ten months five hundred and seventy-five tracts were sold to residents of almost every county of the State and of various States from Maine to Missouri. Forty acres was the most common size for the areas sold but the numerous purchases on September 10, 1847, of Hendrick Peter Scholte, the president of the Utrecht emigrants association and the founder of the Holland settlement at Pella, Iowa, amounted to 5229 acres.

At Iowa City sales were made for lands in Benton, Poweshiek, Tama, Mahaska, Marion, and Jasper counties. To its receiver and register flowed a stream of field notes and surveys. In its office were lists of townships surveyed, of townships platted and recorded, of other townships surveyed but unplatted. Some were in process of being surveyed and another set had only the exterior lines run. Scores of townships marked by an ''H'' were under contract for surveys.

Nearly 4,000,000 acres had been surveyed in the ''Iowa City District'' by the end of 1848 and over half a million acres had been sold. The surveyors, like scouts, had pointed out the outposts and the land officials directed the army of occupation. The goal of every member of the army was land — a farm at $1.25 an acre. It is a humble figure. But what millions have contemplated it in their visions and heartened their hopes for a home!

Interested as later generations are in the work, joys, hardships, and social life of this miniature frontier of the forties, one doubts that the pioneers were conscious of the wonders of the year 1846 — the Mexican War, the acquisition of Oregon, the occupation of California, the Mormon

exodus, the use of the electric telegraph, the Wilmot Proviso, and the admission of Iowa to statehood.

A lapse of eighty or ninety years furnishes a perspective of pioneer beginnings but much of hope, aspirations, joy, and sorrow has faded from record and memory. A veil is soon drawn over the intimate history of a community. Migrations continued, railroads came, and pioneer aspects of the frontier moved westward with the tide. But in a changing world there remained some immutable foundations. Thousands and thousands of titles to property — the basis of community life — are traceable to early pioneer purchases, sales, and transfers of land. An enduring monument with its rows of columns facing Iowa Avenue has also survived the pioneer epoch. Those who in passing read the simple date, "July 4, 1840", and feel the breath of the stone upon them, are paying silent tribute to the pioneer spirit which abides in the foundations of the Commonwealth of Iowa.

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SOLDIER VOTING IN IOWA

A large number of those who served in both the Union and Confederate armies from 1861-1865 were voters, and while these men were in the field several important elections were held. To deprive a man of the privilege of suffrage because he was fighting for the Union or for the Confederacy was obviously unfair, but the soldier certainly could not return to his voting precinct in order to cast his ballot. The question of permitting soldiers to vote in the field was raised, but some of the States found difficulties in the way. If the Constitution of a State clearly provided for the place where the voter might exercise the privilege of voting, then it was necessary to amend the Constitution before provision could be made for voting in the field. On the other hand, if the State Constitution was silent on this point or if it left the place of voting to be determined by the State legislature then it was not such a difficult task to enable soldiers to vote.[1]

The Constitution of no State provided the place where an elector should cast his ballot for members of Congress and for presidential electors, so it was clear that this matter was in the hands of the State legislatures to decide unless Congress should regulate the matter.[2] State legisla-

[1] Benton's *Voting in the Field,* Ch. 1.

[2] "The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislatures thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators." — Constitution of the United States, Article I, Section 4.

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors." — Constitution of the United States, Article II, Section 1.

tures, then, could pass laws permitting soldiers to vote in the field for members of Congress and for presidential electors. The matter of permitting soldiers to vote for State and local officers, however, offered more difficulties. On April 1, 1864, the Supreme Court of Vermont declared an act permitting soldiers to vote in the field constitutional in respect to presidential electors and members of Congress but unconstitutional so far as voting for State officers was concerned.[3]

The Court said in part : "Looking to the language of our constitution, the state of things existing at the time of its formation, the early legislation under it, the uniform legislation and usage of the state since, and the various discussions and decisions in other states, we are clearly satisfied that by the fair construction of our constitution, the right of voting for governor and other state officers, can only be exercised within the state, in the 'freemen's meetings', to be held within the towns on the first Tuesday of September in each year." The Vermont tribunal decided, however, that the legislature could authorize voting in the field for presidential electors and members of Congress since the State Constitution was silent on the subject.[4] The fact that the Constitution of Iowa did not fix a place of voting but merely laid down the qualifications of voters[5] enabled the legislature of that State to pass a law allowing soldiers to vote not only for presidential electors and for members of Congress but also for State officers. Gov-

[3] Similar decisions were handed down in New Hampshire, Maine, and Kentucky.

[4] 37 Vermont 676.

[5] "Every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of this State six months next preceding the election, and of the County in which he claims his vote sixty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or hereafter may be authorized by law." — Constitution of Iowa, 1857, Art. II, Sec. 1.

ernor Samuel J. Kirkwood called the Ninth General Assembly into special session on September 3, 1862, and recommended that the right of franchise be extended to Iowa soldiers qualified to vote no matter where they were stationed on the day of election. In his message to the legislative body, he said in part : "A very large number of the electors of the State are in the army. We say but little when we say that these men are as good citizens, as intelligent, as patriotic, as devoted to their country, as those who remain at home. Under existing laws these citizens cannot vote, and unless these laws can be changed it may be that the cause they are periling life in the field to maintain, may be lost at home through supineness or treachery."[6]

The Attorney General ruled that such a law was not contrary to the State Constitution, and the act was passed on September 11th. By the terms of this act, Iowa voters in the military or naval service of the State or of the United States were given the right to vote for State and Federal officers authorized by law whether they were able to be present in the voting precincts or not. To be a voter, of course, a person must be a white male citizen, twenty-one years of age and must have been a resident of Iowa for six months and of the county sixty days at the time he enlisted. Constables, justices of the peace, township officers, and county supervisors were not to be voted for in the field.[7]

After the election in October, 1862, the Supreme Court of Iowa was called upon to make a decision in regard to the constitutionality of the soldiers voting law. William G. Springer had been elected Clerk of the District Court in Iowa County having received a majority, counting the

[6] Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa,* Vol. II, pp. 315, 316.

[7] *Laws of Iowa,* 1862 (Extra Session), Ch. 29.

soldiers' votes. On the other hand, A. J. Morrison — his opponent — received a majority of the votes cast in the county, not including the votes of the soldiers in the field. Morrison contested the election and N. W. Isbell, Judge of the Eighth Judicial District, declared that he was elected, on the grounds that the law allowing soldiers to vote in the field was unconstitutional. Judge Isbell claimed that the Constitution clearly defined the place where an elector of the State should vote as well as his qualifications.[8]

The Supreme Court of Iowa, however, reversed this decision, Judge Wright writing the opinion. The main object of this section of the Constitution, according to Wright, was to define who should enjoy the privilege of voting. By its terms, a voter must be a white male citizen, twenty-one years old, a resident of Iowa six months and of the county sixty days preceding the election. In this decision Judge Wright said:

> Now, if it be admitted that the incidents of residence in the State and county inhere in the voter, in the sense that sex, age and color inhere in the person as well as the voter, it by no means follows that the Legislature might not fix, at its discretion, the place where those to whom these incidents attach, or possessing these qualifications, may exercise the right; for it is admitted that when the Constitution says "white male citizens," it negatives the right of the Legislature to confer the elective franchise upon females or persons of color. So when it prescribes a residence in the State six months, and the county sixty days, it equally prohibits the conferring the right upon those having a residence of three months and of twenty days. If nothing was said about residence, it would be entirely competent for the Legislature to fix it at one day or five years. But the Constitution, in the language used, intended to declare who should enjoy the right of

[8] Morrison *v.* Springer, 15 Iowa 304, at 305-309.

suffrage, rather than where it should be exercised, and the incident of place, or the place of exercising the right, is not attached as a qualification of the voter.

Since it was impossible to point to any part of the Constitution which had been violated, Judge Wright claimed that the law should be upheld. He argued that the Court should declare a law invalid when necessary but it should never "by metaphysical doubts and difficulties defy and overrule the public will, by showing that the power exercised by the Legislature was or might be questionable."[9]

With the passage of the law permitting soldiers to vote, it was necessary to make provisions for exercising this privilege in the field. A commissioner, to be appointed by the State Census Board for each Iowa regiment, was provided and additional ones might be appointed by the Governor if necessary. Each commissioner was to receive poll books, ballots, and other necessary supplies from the Secretary of State. He was then to proceed to the particular regiment to which he was assigned. On the day of election, polls were to be opened in the field at nine o'clock or before and were to stay open for at least three hours. Provision was made for the appointment of the judges of election from among the soldiers present. It was their duty to provide ballot boxes and to see that the votes were cast properly.

In many instances the vote was cast in the immediate vicinity of fighting and in such cases balloting was taken care of quickly. One commissioner rode to the front in order to get the soldiers' votes. When he reached the Iowa regiment, judges were quickly appointed and a cigar box was provided as a ballot box. The soldiers were brought in as rapidly as possible and it was only a short time be-

[9] Morrison *v.* Springer, 15 Iowa 304, at 345-349.

fore all the votes were cast, and the commissioner started for the rear.[10]

The law provided that soldiers' votes were not to be invalidated even though minor details prescribed in the law were not carried out, but if the accounts in the news columns of the day are to be believed, a number of actual frauds were perpetrated in the field. It is well to keep in mind, however, that soldiers' voting laws were supported by Republicans and opposed by Democrats the country over. One authority who has made a careful study of this subject states that the reason for the opposition by the Democrats lay in the fact that soldiers' voting laws were Republican measures and naturally brought criticism from the opposition.[11] As a result, the Democrats made the most of any opportunity which presented itself to expose the Republican measure as unconstitutional and open to frauds of all kinds.

The huge Republican majorities in the field brought protests from the Democrats who charged their political opponents with influencing the vote of the soldiers unfairly. One of the leading Democratic organs of the State, the *Burlington Argus*, made the statement, after the elections of 1863, that the Democrats in the field had little chance to vote. Had they been allowed to use their ballots, the vote in the field would have been much heavier than it was. It was alleged that soldiers were warned not to vote the Democratic ticket and any who dared to do so were placed on extra duty or even imprisoned. Here, according to the *Argus,* was an explanation of the light vote in the army. The inference was that all those who did not vote in the army would have cast their vote for the Democratic can-

[10] Aldrich's *Voting With the Soldiers in 1864* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, pp. 618-623.

[11] Benton's *Voting in the Field,* p. 306.

didates, but were not given a chance to vote.[12] This was a convenient explanation of the small Democratic vote.

Democratic newspapers throughout Iowa printed letters from citizens in the army who declared that the soldiers were being forced to vote the Republican ballot or none at all. "We had election the other day for Iowa State officers", wrote a young Iowa soldier in 1862. "I did not vote *neither did many of the Dem as they had no tickets* (a good joke on the Dems.)" In several cases, however, it was reported that Democrats in the army wrote the names of their party nominees on the Republican ballots.[13]

A passage from one of these letters of protest, sent to the *Burlington Argus* and reprinted in the Iowa City *State Press,* indicates the attitude Democratic papers were taking:

> At noon, on election day, I went to the polls. There lay a great heap of tickets on the ground, and the boys searching for such as they wanted. I searched some time to find a democratic ticket, but did not succeed. The commissioner asked me what county I wanted. I told him Des Moines. "Oh yes," said he, "lots of them;" and handed me the republican nominations. I thanked him, but told him that I wanted the democratic ticket. "Oh, you do! Well, we don't consider that party as being Union. We folks rather regard it as leaning the other way, ourselves." These were his exact words, spoken in a very sarcastic manner. Many of the officers and men did not vote. They were disgusted with the arrangement, and pronounced it a one sided affair. The great bundles of tickets dumped over our parade ground were all republican, except an occasional democratic State ticket, thrown in as if for tally.[14]

[12] *Burlington Argus,* November 5, 1863.

[13] *The State Press* (Iowa City), October 25, 1862; *The Journal and Letters of Corporal William O. Gulick* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 556, 557. Corporal Gulick was not of age.

[14] *The State Press* (Iowa City), November 1, 1862.

From the beginning, Democrats questioned the honesty of the commissioners sent out to get the soldiers' votes. Since the Republicans had "their commissioners" to supply Republican ballots, plans were soon made to provide the Democrats in the field with tickets. It was recommended to all Democratic county committees of Iowa as soon as nominations were made and to all democratic candidates on being nominated that they secure a number of ballots with the name of the county printed at the top as required by law and send these to friends in the army as well as to persons throughout the State having friends or relatives in the field. The State Democratic Committee also suggested placing the following citation on the ballot: "The Democracy of Iowa favor PEACE upon the basis of a completely restored UNION; and will advocate the disbandment of the volunteer army of the United States, so soon as the people of the South, through their State organizations, shall return to the Union under the existing Federal and State Constitutions."[15] This apparently was intended to dispel the criticism that the Democratic party was against the Union and in sympathy with the seceding States.

Republicans were quick to defend the new law, maintaining that statements by the opposition in regard to the alleged destruction of Democratic ballots and the presentation of only Republican ballots to the soldiers in the field were false. It was claimed that, in many instances, Republican commissioners delivered addresses to soldiers which had been issued by the Democratic committees in Iowa and even handed them tickets prepared by these committees.[16] The *Des Moines Register* asserted that the vote

[15] *The State Press* (Iowa City), August 22, 1863.

[16] *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), November 5, 1862.

in the field was overwhelmingly Republican, not in a strict party sense, but in consideration of the administration's vigorous prosecution of the war and was due to a widespread conviction that the Democratic party was in sympathy with the secessionists.[17]

In all reports of election returns, a Democratic vote was recorded however small it may have been. To quote the *Iowa City Republican*: "The Chicago *Times* and other secession-sympathizing northern sheets are seeking to parry the effect of the blow which the Iowa soldiers in their recent vote has dealt them, by charging fraud, intimidation &c. in the taking of the vote. The charge of fraud is entirely without foundation, and the charge that the soldiers were intimidated, and voted as they did through fear of displeasing their officers and generals is an infamous libel upon the courage and manhood of every soldier in the army."[18]

There is little doubt, however, that the weakness of the law lay in its application. Colonel J. E. Williamson, of the Fourth Iowa Infantry, declared that every soldier who was a legal voter at home should have the privilege of voting while serving his country, although he doubted whether many of the soldiers who had long been in the service demanded, or even desired, to exercise the franchise. Colonel Williamson was also certain that the new voting law had made possible a scheme of electioneering in the army which was most undesirable. He hastened to add that no man in his command should be influenced from voting the way he pleased so long as he could prevent it.[19]

Cases were also reported where the soldiers had no

[17] *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), October 22, 1862.

[18] *Iowa City Republican,* October 29, 1862.

[19] *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), October 22, 1862.

opportunity to vote or were prevented from doing so. The chaplain of the Fifteenth Iowa Regiment which was stationed at Corinth, Mississippi, stated that there were over two thousand Union soldiers in the hospitals at Corinth during the elections in 1862, but no commissioner appeared to take the vote of the injured soldiers and none of them voted.[20]

Another case was reported where a regiment of Iowa soldiers was disfranchised because the commanding officer refused to allow the commissioner the necessary privileges. The regiment had been ordered to the front a few days before election and the commissioner, feeling certain that it would not return until after the day of election, volunteered to accompany the men "and if a scrimmage should occur, to take his chances of coming out of the fight with an unpunctured skin." His request was refused. Neither would the officer in command allow the poll books, ballots, and so forth to be taken with the regiment on its journey to the scene of battle so that the soldiers might vote when the day of election came. The commissioner was assured, however, that the soldiers would return to camp in time to cast their ballots, but the regiment did not return until the day after election and the soldiers were, therefore, disfranchised.

The commanding officer was correct in considering voting at that time as of less importance than fighting, and he also had the right to refuse to permit the commissioner to accompany troops to the front, but, as the *Daily Register* commented, "the exigencies of the expedition did not require that he should arbitrarily put it out of the power of his troops to vote, when election day came, and in so doing he committed a gross wrong upon the rights of his

[20] *The State Press* (Iowa City), November 1, 1862.

troops, and violated a special order of the officer in command of that Military Department.'"[21]

The small percentage of the soldiers voting was partly due, as has been noted, to the difficulty in securing the soldiers' votes in the vicinity of actual fighting. In addition to this, many of the soldiers were not yet twenty-one and were, therefore, ineligible to vote. In a careful study made of several Iowa regiments, it was found that there were not nearly as many soldiers under sixteen as had been reported in the press, that more enlisted at eighteen than at any other age, and that probably about thirty per cent of the soldiers were under twenty-one and not voters.[22] Just how many soldiers used the ballot and what influence did the soldiers' votes have on the Iowa State and national elections during the Civil War? During the first two years of the war, Iowa furnished about 46,000 men but, of course, all were not on the field at the time of the election. If about one-third, or 15,000, soldiers were discounted as not being of voting age, nearly 31,000 remained who were eligible to exercise the right of franchise. Over 19,000, or nearly two-thirds of those eligible to vote, did so at each election. Owing to the difficulties in reaching the soldiers especially in the vicinity of actual fighting, it would seem that the law permitting soldiers to vote in the field worked fairly well. At least the per cent of non-voters was no larger than among voters in general.

Furthermore, the soldiers' vote seems to have exercised little or no influence on the outcome of the elections in Iowa, merely increasing the Republican majority in almost all cases. At the October elections in 1862, the total vote in the State was 116,913. The soldiers' vote totaled around

[21] *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), October 28, 1863.

[22] Gist's *The Ages of the Soldiers in the Civil War* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. XVI, p. 399.

19,000 or about sixteen per cent of the whole.[23] The State election of 1863 brought practically the same results as the previous year with the soldiers' vote totaling 19,000 or about fourteen per cent of the State's vote of 142,266. The Republican candidate for Governor was victorious both at home and in the field gaining a majority of nearly 30,000 votes.[24] In the presidential election of 1864, the total vote in Iowa for President amounted to 138,025. Again, the soldiers' vote totaled something over 19,000. Lincoln easily carried the State over his Democratic opponent by a majority of 39,000 votes, receiving all but 2000 of the 19,000 votes cast in the field. This indicates rather decisively the sentiment of the soldiers.[25]

The law permitting soldiers to vote in the field was evidently regarded as a temporary measure, for it failed to appear in the *Code of 1873,* and an absent voters' law passed in 1915 seemed to make the soldiers' voting law unnecessary. However, when the provisions of the law of 1915 are examined, it is noted that the conditions of voting differ from those under the law of 1862, since application for a ballot must be made not more than twenty days before the election by any voter who expects to be absent from his voting place on the day of the election.[26]

[23] *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), November 19, 1862.

[24] William M. Stone, Republican candidate for Governor in 1863, polled 86,107 votes while his Democratic opponent, James M. Tuttle, had a total of 56,132. There was a scattering vote of 27. Stone received a vote of 16,791 in the field to 2904 for his opponent. — *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), November 25, 1863; *Iowa Official Register,* 1929-1930, p. 445.

[25] Abraham Lincoln had a total vote in Iowa of 88,500 and George B. McClellan a total of 49,525. Lincoln's vote in the field was 17,252 and McClellan's 1920. — *Iowa State Register* (Weekly, Des Moines), December 7, 1864; *Iowa Official Register,* 1929-1930, p. 444,

[26] *Code of 1924,* Secs. 927, 928. The Spanish-American War closed before the date of election, except for those units sent to the Philippine Islands. Because of the distance and the small number of voters concerned, it appears

Iowa sent nearly 4500 men to serve on the Mexican border in 1916 in answer to President Wilson's call, and in the election that year, the question of the soldiers' votes again arose, and it was finally decided that the old law applied and was easier to operate than the new absent voters' law. In the presidential election of that year, the soldier vote in Iowa totaled something over 2200 ballots, Charles E. Hughes receiving 1108 votes and Woodrow Wilson 1102, with a scattering vote of 31. In the race for Governor of Iowa, William L. Harding, the Republican nominee, won the election by a plurality of over 126,000 votes, receiving a plurality of over 600 in the field.[27]

With the coming of the World War and the entrance of great numbers of Iowa troops in the military service of the United States there was more discussion of the possibility of soldiers voting. By an opinion handed down by Attorney General Havner on October 2, 1917, soldiers were included in the class of absentee voters. Any soldier or sailor absent from his residence on election day could make application to the county auditor for a ballot not less than three days before the date of the election. In order to save time, the county auditor was to furnish the official application to each elector in his county by sending it to the commander of the regiment under whom the elector served. In this manner, delivery might be made promptly.[28]

On August 31st, the Attorney General also submitted another opinion to Governor Harding stating that the Iowa soldiers also had the right to vote under the Civil War laws and that the Governor had the power to appoint a commission to take the vote as provided by the act of the Ninth

that no attempt was made to enable the men still in service to vote in November, 1898.

[27] *Iowa Official Register,* 1917-1918, pp. 482-485.

[28] *Biennial Report of the Attorney General,* 1917-1918, pp. 374, 375.

General Assembly of Iowa.[29] Of course, that section of the law of 1862 providing for the printing of ballots[30] had to give way to the new law which made the use of the official ballot compulsory. The ballots, no longer printed by the political parties but under the direction of the county auditor, were to be provided at the polling places in large enough numbers to supply each soldier voter with a ballot from the county in which he resided before enlisting in the army.[31]

The Attorney General also called attention to the fact that the object of the act was to permit every soldier to vote whether visited by a commissioner or not, Section 8 of the law providing that "a poll shall be opened at every place whether within or without the state where a regiment, battalion, battery or company of Iowa soldiers may be found or stationed", and Section 9 permitting "any company or detached portion of a regiment to open a separate poll, the electors present to choose three judges from the qualified electors present whose duty it shall be to act as such judges."[32]

Two methods were in use in 1918. The soldier could exercise the privilege of suffrage as accorded him by the law of 1915 or by the earlier law of 1862. As a matter of fact, however, it proved much more difficult to secure the votes of the soldiers during the World War than it was in the

[29] "Section 1 of Chapter 29 of the extra session of the 9th General Assembly provides in substance that every male citizen who has been a resident of Iowa six months, and of some county therein for sixty days next preceding his entering the military service shall be entitled to vote at all elections authorized by law as provided in said act. The term, 'in the military service,' we think should be construed to cover those who may be in the naval, marine or aerial service." — *Biennial Report of the Attorney General,* 1917-1918, p. 70.

[30] *Laws of Iowa,* 1862 (Extra Session), Ch. 29, Sec. 15.

[31] *Biennial Report of the Attorney General,* 1917-1918, p. 72.

[32] *Biennial Report of the Attorney General,* 1917-1918, p. 71.

Civil War. This was due partly to the policy adopted by the government of distributing troops without much regard for States. There were no State regiments, except possibly those in the National Guard divisions and these soon received recruits from other States. The fact that many from the various States were so widely scattered in camps in the United States and abroad also added to the difficulty. In spite of this, nearly 6000 soldiers cast their ballots at the Iowa State election in 1918, and again there was recorded a large Republican majority.[33]

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[33] The soldiers' vote for Governor was : William L. Harding (Republican), 4086, and Claude R. Porter (Democrat), 1798, and a scattering of 50 votes. The total vote for Harding was 192,662 and for Porter, 178,815. In the race for United States Senator, William S. Kenyon had nearly double the vote of his Democratic opponent and won the soldiers' vote by a plurality of more than 2500. — *Iowa Official Register*, 1919-1920, pp. 363-366.

THE IOWA STATE HIGHWAY COMMISSION

A STUDY IN ADMINISTRATION

Since its creation in 1904, the Iowa State Highway Commission has had an increasing influence upon the road-making program of Iowa, and it has progressively received more and more control, either direct or indirect, over the roads of the State. During this period, the Commission has, at times, been the object of a good deal of criticism from those opposing its road programs, the method of administration, or the organization of the Commission. Now, when the Commission has received complete control of the primary road system of the State, it seems that a critical study of the organization, the system of administration, and the functions of the Iowa State Highway Commission should be of interest.

LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND

A brief study of the laws relating to the Commission shows the gradual increase in the powers granted to it and leads to a better understanding of the present organization.

Experimental work conducted by the Division of Engineering of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in 1902 attracted wide attention and contributed in no small degree to the enactment of the law creating the Commission.[1] It was not until 1904, however, that the question of creating a State Highway Department at Iowa State College and providing an appropriation came before the General Assembly. Public sentiment was not favorable at that time, and it soon became clear that a separate department could not be established.

[1] Brindley's *History of Road Legislation in Iowa*, p. 217.

In order to save something of the plan, Representative F. F. Jones of Montgomery County introduced a bill providing that Iowa State College should act as a State Highway Commission.[2] This bill was passed by the General Assembly and the money for the support of the highway work was included in the regular college budget for experimental purposes, subject to the control of the Board of Trustees.[3] The following powers and duties were specified in the law.

1. To devise and adopt plans and systems of highway construction and maintenance, suited to the needs of the different counties of the state, and conduct demonstration in such highway construction, at least one each year at some suitable place, for the instruction of county supervisors, township trustees, superintendents, students of the college, and others.

2. To disseminate information and instruction to county supervisors, and other highway officers who make requests; answer inquiries and advise such supervisors and officers on questions pertaining to highway improvements, construction and maintenance, and whenever the board of supervisors of a county adjudge that the public necessity requires a public demonstration of improved highway construction or maintenance in said county, and so request and agree to furnish necessary tools, help, and motor power for same, the commission shall furnish as soon as practicable thereafter, a trained and competent highway builder for such demonstration free to the county.

3. To formulate reasonable conditions and regulations for public demonstrations; and to promulgate advisory rules and regulations for the repair and maintenance of highways.

4. To keep a record of all the important operations of the highway commission, and report same to the governor at the close of each fiscal year.[4]

[2] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1904, p. 578.

[3] *Laws of Iowa,* 1904, Ch. 156.

[4] *Laws of Iowa,* 1904, Ch. 105.

The deans of the divisions of agriculture and engineering were appointed by the Board of Trustees to serve as the Commission, and T. H. McDonald was engaged as an assistant, giving all his time to the work. This statute of 1904 marks a very important step in the road legislation in Iowa, and from this time on, the good road movement has made steady progress. The work of the Commission, though limited by lack of funds, was well planned and was carried out along scientific lines. A program of constructive reform along the line of road legislation and administration was outlined. Road conditions were investigated in different sections of the State and road maps prepared for about twelve counties. A preliminary investigation was made in regard to the amount of road funds raised and expended in the different counties. An investigation of road materials in Iowa was also made and published.[5]

In 1905, the Commission published a manual for Iowa State highway officers. This contained a summary of the road laws with interpretations as to their meaning, the procedure in the consolidation of road districts on the basis of civil townships, the method of appointment of a township road superintendent, the summary of the work of the Commission itself, directions for the construction and drainage of permanent highways, and instructions for locating and maintaining these roads.[6]

The first annual report of the Commission gives a clear conception of the work done by it during this period. This report was presented in four main divisions: (1) investigations; (2) experiments; (3) plans and publications; and (4) the road school. The report included also a discussion of the topography of the State, an account of the road and

[5] Brindley's *History of Road Legislation in Iowa,* p. 221.

[6] Iowa State Highway Commission's *Manual for Iowa Highway Officers,* 1905.

bridge work carried on in various counties, the expenditure of different road funds, and the results of certain experimental work along the line of traction resistance, gravel roads with clay binder, stone roads, and certain problems in concrete.[7]

In 1913 the forces in favor of centralized control of highway administration succeeded in placing a more comprehensive law on the statute books, and a new Commission was formed, to be composed of three salaried members. The Dean of Engineering at the Iowa State College was made *ex officio* a member of this board. The other two members were to be appointed by the Governor for a period of four years.

The increase in the powers and duties of the Commission is clearly shown by a comparison of the statute of 1904 given above with the following provisions of the new law:

1. To devise and adopt plans of highway construction and maintenance suited to the needs of the different counties of the state, and furnish standard plans to the counties in accordance therewith.

2. To disseminate information and instruction to county supervisors and other highway officers, answer inquiries and advise such supervisors and officers on questions pertaining to highway improvements, construction and maintenance and of reasonable prices for materials and construction.

3. To keep a record of all important operations of the highway commission and to annually report the same to the governor by the first day of December, which report shall be printed as a public document.

4. To appoint such assistants as are necessary to carry on the work of the commission, define the duties and fix the compensation of each, and terminate at will the terms of employment of all employes; provide for necessary bonds, and fix the amount of same.

[7] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1905, p. 6.

5. To make investigation as to conditions in any county, and to report any violation of duty, either of commission or omission, to the attorney general, who shall take such steps as are deemed advisable by him to correct the same.

6. The state highway commission shall have general supervision of the various county and township officers named in this act in the performance of the duties here enjoined, and shall have full power and authority to enforce the provisions of this act.

7. To perform all other duties required by law.[8]

In addition to this extension of power, the Commission was placed in a much better position in regard to finances, for it was given, as a maintenance fund, eight per cent of all the money paid into the State Treasury for the registration of motor vehicles.[9]

The Commission was also given the power to pass upon plans for permanent road improvements throughout the State, and its approval was necessary for the validity of any contract for the construction or the repair of any bridge or culvert the cost of which exceeded $2000. The Commission was thus placed in a position to make its influence more effective in the actual work of improving the roads. The same law also provided that the board of supervisors of each county must employ a competent engineer or engineers to supervise the building of permanent roads in the county.[10] This law marked the beginning of the transfer of road control to the State.

In 1917 the Thirty-seventh General Assembly passed an act that still further increased the powers of the State Highway Commission. This act provided for the acceptance by Iowa of the provisions of the Federal Road Aid Act and for the expenditure of the money through the coöperation

[8] *Laws of Iowa,* 1913, Ch. 122, Sec. 3.

[9] *Laws of Iowa,* 1913, Ch. 133.

[10] *Laws of Iowa,* 1913, Ch. 122, Secs. 4, 12.

of the boards of supervisors and the State Highway Commission.[11]

The law of Iowa in regard to the administration and distribution of the Federal aid money was in harmony with the demands of the Federal aid law when the acceptance was made in 1917, but in 1921 the Federal law was revised in such a manner as to make the Iowa law conflict with the United States law in two important details: first, the new Federal law required that the maintenance of primary roads assisted by Federal aid must be under the direct control of a State highway authority and not under the control of county boards as the Iowa law provided; second, the new law required that Federal highways should be surfaced in a manner suited to the traffic on such highways, and that the State Highway Commission must have the power to determine and select the type of surfacing for such highways and to initiate improvement projects. Under the Iowa law the county boards of supervisors had sole power to initiate improvements and to determine what the surface should be. The Federal government allowed the States a five-year period of grace — or until November 9, 1926 — to comply with these provisions.[12]

The Forty-first General Assembly, which convened in January, 1925, rewrote the Iowa primary road law in such a way as to bring it into harmony with the Federal Aid Act, and while the powers of the Commission were not increased to the point hoped for by some, there was, of necessity, considerable increase in both its powers and its influence.

The law of 1925 includes the following provisions:

[11] *Laws of Iowa,* 1917, Ch. 249.

[12] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, p. 355, Vol. XL, Pt. 1, p. 1201, Vol. XLII, pp. 212, 661; *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1922, pp. 14, 15.

1. The highway commission shall have general authority and supervision over the maintenance of the primary roads outside of cities and towns and along the corporate limit lines thereof, and are hereby instructed to cooperate with the various county boards of supervisors. . . . In case of disagreement as to policy . . . . the decision of the highway commission as to policy shall be final.

2. Road machinery purchased by any county out of the primary road fund, and government trucks or tractors used by any county for maintaining primary roads shall be available for use by the highway commission in maintaining the primary roads of said county.

3. Before the primary road fund is allotted among the counties each year, there shall be set aside the federal aid road fund and an amount equal to the amount received from the federal government as road aid during the year, to constitute a primary road development fund, which primary road development fund shall be expended under the jurisdiction of the state highway commission for the improvement of primary roads. In the expenditure of the primary road development fund the commission shall have the power to receive bids, award and execute contracts and proceed with the construction work and all the provisions of the primary road law so far as applicable, shall apply to the work done and the expenditure of said fund. . . .

4. The highway commission is authorized to purchase road material and machinery for primary roads after receiving competitive bids and to pay for same out of the primary road development fund.

5. The state may purchase or condemn any corporate or private personal property, including manufactured or processed commodities that may be needed for the construction, maintenance or repair of the highways of the state.[13]

The most important gain for the Commission under the act of 1925 was the grant to it of absolute control of the primary road development fund. This fund was to be ex-

[13] *Laws of Iowa*, 1925, Ch. 114.

pended by the Commission *upon its own initiative* for the improvement and construction of the primary roads. Before this time the Commission had been forced to depend upon the boards of supervisors to initiate improvement projects, a limitation which often resulted in delay and lack of continuity in the road improvements. The Commission now had available a fund that could be used to complete the gaps in the improvement of the cross State primary roads.

The law was indeed a victory for the centralizing forces and this increase in powers pointed out the advisability of placing in the hands of the Commission complete control over the primary roads. This final step was taken by the Forty-second General Assembly in 1927. The act passed at this time placed complete control of the primary roads in the hands of a reorganized Highway Commission, consisting of five appointive members.

The forces of centralized control had at last gained their point. With the Iowa State Highway Commission in complete control of the primary roads of the State it has remained for the Commission to prove itself equal to the task of carrying out the work efficiently and economically.

PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION

At the head of the highway organization of Iowa is the State Highway Commission, composed of five members appointed by the Governor with the approval of two-thirds of the Senate in executive session.[14] A temporary provision was made for the appointment of the first Commission under the act of 1927. Under this temporary provision, the Governor appointed three members of the Commission, with the approval of two-thirds of the Senate in executive session. One of these was to serve from July 4, 1927, until

[14] *Laws of Iowa*, 1927, Ch. 102, Sec. 1.

July 1, 1929, and the other two from July 4, 1927, to July 1, 1931. The two remaining members were to be the appointive members of the former Commission, who were to serve out their terms, one going out of office on July 1, 1929, and the other on July 1, 1931.[15] Clifford L. Niles, Carl C. Riepe, H. A. Darting, H. E. Dean, and T. J. O'Donnell constitute the present Commission.

The number of members on a board or commission is, of course, always a subject for debate. It is agreed, however, that it should be large enough to secure various points of view and debate on matters of policy and that it should not be large enough to interfere with efficiency of administration. The Iowa State Highway Commission, with its five members, is well within these limits. Its work being of a policy determining nature, a multiple executive is desirable. It is true that under this type of organization policies must be discussed and debated before decisions can be made and more time is required than would perhaps be necessary with a single executive. This discussion by the members, however, usually leads to better and more clearly defined decisions.

Although it is not compulsory or even suggested in the law, the different members of the Commission as a rule come from different parts of the State and have, through personal knowledge, a better understanding of the road problems of the different sections than a single executive could have. The only specified qualifications are of a political nature, the law stating that not more than three members shall belong to the same political party.[16] This provision was intended to remove the Commission from party politics by providing members of both parties on the

[15] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 102, Sec. 2.

[16] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 102, Sec. 1.

Commission. Such a board, however, is bi-partisan rather than non-partisan.

The term of each Commissioner is four years, two members being appointed during one biennial period and three members during the following biennial period. Since the Governor serves for only a two-year term, it would seem that partisan influence has been reduced to a minimum. No board or commission, however, should be entirely removed from political control or responsibility to the people. In the case of the Iowa State Highway Commission, a Governor who serves two terms is able to change the personnel of the Highway Commission if he cares to do so. Thus the Commission is subject, indirectly, to popular control.

Members of the Highway Commission may be removed from office for cause under the so-called Cosson Law and, like other appointive officers of the State, they are also removable, for cause, by the Executive Council. The matter of removal, however, has not been raised in Iowa, so far as the State Highway Commission is concerned.[17] Each member of the Commission must give bond in the sum of five thousand dollars. Vacancies are filled by the Governor subject to the approval of two-thirds of the Senate, within thirty days after the convening of the General Assembly. Each member of the Highway Commission receives a salary of four thousand dollars a year. They also receive their actual and necessary expenses.[18]

It is not the function of the five Commissioners to perform the detailed engineering and routine duties, "but to act in the capacity of a governing board or board of directors, to determine questions of policy, to hire and develop into a working organization a staff of engineers and assist-

[17] *Code of 1927,* Secs. 1091, 1114; Patton's *Removal of Public Officials in Iowa* in *Applied History,* Vol. II, p. 399.

[18] *Code of 1927,* Secs. 1063, 4624; *Laws of Iowa,* 1929, Ch. 27, Sec. 1.

ants, and in general to perform such functions as fall naturally to the governing board of any large business organization.'"[19]

The State Highway Commission deals largely with engineering problems. It establishes standard plans for road and bridge work. It constructs and maintains primary roads and the bridges thereon. It furnishes engineering assistance to the counties in solving their road and bridge problems and it checks and approves certain road and bridge contracts after they have been awarded by the county supervisors.[20] This work is under the direction of trained engineers appointed by the Commission, but in deciding what policies are to be followed and in matters of dispute, the Commission makes the decision. The Commission is at all times the final authority on any question.

The law places the entire control of the administration, with the exception of the finances, in the hands of the Commission. In no place in the act is the form of organization specifically determined, although in several places the existence of an organization is implied. An example of this is the requirement that all engineers give bonds.[21] The first act of the Commission in 1904 was, of necessity, one of organization. The organization was at first rather limited, as was the work that the Highway Commission was to perform.

As the powers and duties of the Commission were expanded, the organization expanded and departments were created and changed to meet the new demands. The ability of the organization to develop and change to meet the ever-increasing duties, without complete reorganization, has

[19] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1916, p. 51.

[20] Iowa State Highway Commission's *Service Bulletin,* Vol. X, 1922, Supplement to March number, p. 6.

[21] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 14.

been of untold value in the work of the Commission. No administrative system is at any given time perfectly adapted to its work, but it is in a continual process of becoming better adapted to it.[22] As an example of this we find that, in the beginning, road design and bridge design were of such prime importance that each was established as a separate department, but later when much of this work was finished, the two departments were combined into the department of design. The Highway Commission's organization is highly centralized as to control and responsibility, though in its practical workings this feature is often modified. In actual practice every effort is made to eliminate unnecessary official red tape.

The Commissioners meet regularly once a week on Monday afternoon, though press of work may result in special meetings being called at other times. As a rule all members are present, but at times this is impossible and the work is carried on by those present. The Commission follows the ordinary procedure for the conduct of business. A quorum consists of three members and a majority vote rules, but, as a matter of fact, action is never taken on any important matter until the full Commission is present. The chief engineer is usually present during part of the time to advise, present plans, and to explain work already done, but as the meetings are sometimes long, he may not be present all of the time, being called in if the Commission so desires.

The Commission makes an effort to secure all the information possible, to enable it to make the best possible decisions. The heads of departments are often called to give expert information as to what has been done or what is best to be done under existing circumstances. In fact

[22] Mathew's *Principles of American State Administration,* p. 19.

the Commission constantly makes use of the entire organization for technical information and advice.

District engineers may be present on request to present in detail certain problems involving their districts and of which they have direct and personal knowledge. In addition to the above sources of information, which are directly under the control of the Commission, there is another group of individuals eager to give their point of view on certain problems. This group is composed of county supervisors, county engineers, road boosters, good roads organizations, voters' leagues, and citizens affected by certain road plans. Each individual or party is given full opportunity to state his or their views, and to present certain facts. After all possible information is obtained, all questions are fully discussed and debated before the final decision is made. The decision may or may not be by formal ballot depending upon the question that is under discussion.

The decision made must be carried out. This is the work of trained engineers. The work is left entirely in the hands of the chief engineer. A number of people object to placing so much authority in the hands of one man and claim that he is the real Commission and that the five Commissioners are only figureheads. This system, however, conforms to the principle of efficient administration. In matters requiring deliberation and the interchange of opinions and views, the participation if not the control of the board or commission is desirable, but the actual management and direction of the affairs of the department should be largely in the hands of the executive officer.[23]

The Commission has placed in the chief engineer's hands authority sufficient to carry out its policies, but it has also placed upon him entire responsibility for the execution of

[23] Mathew's *Principles of American State Administration,* p. 167.

these policies and he can be removed from office by the Commission any time his work proves unsatisfactory. The criticism of undue authority seems, therefore, to be based on a misunderstanding of the relation of the chief engineer to the Commission.

THE CHIEF ENGINEER

The chief engineer is the head of the entire organization. The executive department, composed of a consulting road engineer and certain assistant engineers, is under his immediate direction.[24]

The Commission selects the chief engineer after careful investigation and consideration. In this connection it should be noted that the Commission has seldom exercised its appointive power — F. R. White, the present chief engineer, having served since 1919. His predecessor served from the creation of the Commission in 1904 until 1919.[25] While there is no set list of qualifications, the importance of the position, with its responsibilities and duties, demands that the individual must have many outstanding qualifications in order to carry out the work properly. He must have executive ability, he must possess managing ability of high order, he must be able to carry out the orders and policies of the board, he must be able to see and formulate policies to meet future problems. The salary of the chief engineer is now $10,000 per year.

The chief engineer works directly with the Commission and furnishes expert knowledge when necessary, either through his own knowledge or through one of the departments. He aids the Commission in forming policies, and sees that the Commissioners are properly informed on all matters pertaining to the administration, but his chief duty

[24] *Iowa Official Register,* 1929-1930, p. 143.

[25] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1919, p. 17.

is to provide an adequate organization and to carry out the policies of the Commission.

Regular meetings of the heads of departments with the chief engineer are held on Saturday afternoons. At these meetings the best methods of procedure in carrying out certain problems are discussed; possible future problems are suggested, with plans for their solutions; and information is presented that might aid the Commission in its work or in the formation of future policies. The discussions are general but the chief engineer may call for a vote upon certain matters when he so desires. These meetings often provide valuable material for the organization and the Commission and result in a more harmonious working of the organization.

The chief engineer personally or through his assistants carries out a number of miscellaneous functions. He has charge of all litigation to which the Commission is a party and aids the Attorney General in preparing each case. He aids the Commission in the modification of the county road system, as well as of the primary road system, the law providing that the primary road system may be changed to provide: (a) for more efficient service; (b) for more economical construction; (c) to afford access to cities, towns, and villages; and (d) to afford access to State parks and recreation centers.

It is frequently necessary to make an extensive investigation to determine whether a change shall be made, and if so where the new road shall be located. At the same time proper consideration must be given to all individuals involved as well as to the traffic. This work is under the direction of the chief engineer.

An educational exhibit is maintained at the State Fair comparing the construction work of railroad beds with the old time up-hill and down-hill dirt roads and with the new

methods used in the construction of the primary roads. This is a part of the educational program made use of by all organizations interested in good roads to show the public the need and advantage of good roads and the proper methods to use in obtaining them.[26]

The most important duty of the chief engineer is, however, to perfect an organization that can carry out the policies of the Commission as they are given to him. The Highway Commission reported on December 1, 1930, that their employees at that time numbered 1004 persons, exclusive of the Commissioners themselves and temporary and part-time help. The success of the chief engineer depends upon the success of this organization.

DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION

The main organization is divided into six departments — administration, design, materials, construction, maintenance, and purchases and accounts.[27] All six departments are coördinate, that is, no department is subordinate to another, but all work in harmony. Each department is notified in time to take care of its part of the work when the time comes and each department sees that its work does not delay the other departments. The smooth and efficient working of the organization is a tribute to the ability of the executive who controls it.

The heads of these departments are appointed by the chief engineer with the advice and consent or knowledge of the Commission but as the chief engineer assumes responsibility for the acts and work of each department, it is absolutely necessary that he have subordinates who are answerable directly to him, will coöperate with him, and

[26] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission*, 1926, p. 11.

[27] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission*, 1929, p. 13. See also blue print of the organization.

in whom he has confidence. He must likewise have the power at any time of removing any subordinate whose work is unsatisfactory so the term of office of these department heads is indefinite. In these positions, as heads of departments, are found the technical experts of the organization, although they must have considerable managing ability along with their technical knowledge.

The head of each department usually has an assistant to aid him in the work. This assistant is appointed by the chief engineer, usually with the consent of the Commission, and with the approval and advice of the head of the department. The head of the department must have full authority over his assistant if the work of the department is to be carried out properly. Each department head is held personally responsible for the work assigned to his department and is given complete control under the supervision of the chief engineer. In fact all down the line the administrative principle of the superior appointing his subordinates is carried out as much as possible with final control always in the hands of the chief engineer and through him in the hands of the Commission.

Department of Administration. — The head of this department must have exceptional ability as an organizer and administrator. The work of the department of administration is divided among three divisions: improvement programs, railroad crossing negotiations, and general administration.[28] All the work of the department is, however, of an administrative nature.

It is the chief business of this department to arrange and carry on all negotiations leading up to the establishment of road improvement projects, to see that surveys, plans,

[28] From a blue print of the organization, furnished by the Highway Commission.

and specifications are prepared and completed on time, letting dates set and lettings properly advertised, lettings held in proper form, qualifications of successful bidders determined, contracts executed, and bonds supplied.

The administration department investigates and approves all projects involving the improvement and extensions of the primary road system including extensions and connecting links within the limits of cities and towns.[29]

An important function of the department is that of designating what projects are to be handled as Federal aid projects. Not only must these projects be investigated as to their merit as primary road projects, but they must also meet additional Federal requirements. If it is decided that the project is to be a Federal aid project plans must be prepared and submitted to the Bureau of Public Roads, with specifications and estimates of the project. If these are approved, agreements are executed with the Secretary of Agriculture whereby Federal aid funds are set aside as the Federal government's share of the cost of the construction. All these negotiations are carried on by the administration department.[30]

It is the policy of the Commission to eliminate railroad crossings upon the primary roads wherever possible, and to cross where necessary by means of subway or overhead crossings. The negotiations with the railroads to secure the necessary agreements to this effect are carried on by this department. The department of administration also acts as a unifying agent for the work of the other departments.

Another important duty of the department is arranging for and taking care of the many details of administration

[29] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 22.

[30] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 22.

necessary to the letting and approving of contracts for construction work upon the primary roads. Forms must be arranged, notifications sent out, bids received, lettings held, and contracts awarded. This calls for a great deal of important administrative work.[31]

Department of Design. — The head of the department of design, like all the others, is selected by the chief engineer with the approval of the Commission. The work of the department is of such a highly technical nature that the chief engineer must make the most careful investigation before the selection, and must have absolute control over the head of the department if he is to be assured of the successful carrying out of his program.

The qualifications for the office are of an extremely technical nature and demand engineering ability of a high order, as well as executive and managing ability.

Two assistants are provided in the department — an engineer of bridge design and an engineer of road design.[32] These assistants are appointed by the chief engineer with the consent of the Commission and the head of the department. Positions of this kind are of such importance in the organization that every effort is made to secure not only competent men but men who are acceptable to their superiors.

Upon this department rests the first step in the actual construction of the primary roads. It must provide the surveys, plans, and blue prints necessary for the construction work. This work is divided into four divisions — surveys, railroad crossing plans, bridge and road plans, and drafting.[33]

[31] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, pp. 23, 24.

[32] From a blue print of the organization.

[33] From a blue print of the organization.

The department makes surveys of the primary roads and prepares field notes from which the plans are made. The survey work is usually carried out by a seven-man survey party though special survey parties are sometimes used. It is often necessary to make surveys of several possible routes in order to determine the final location of the primary road. Further improvement of a primary road may also call for additional surveys.[34]

The question is sometimes raised as to the necessity of certain surveys and resurveys of roads. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some mistakes have occurred, and that certain surveys might not have been necessary, but when we consider that the improvement of roads is always progressive, advancing usually from one type to the next higher, from the "king" drag to blade grading, from permanent grading and graveling to hard surface, it can be seen that it is necessary to run numerous lines of engineering stakes as the improvement progresses from year to year and from type to type.

Constant study is made of existing structures to determine how well different types of construction and materials meet certain conditions, and how improvements might be made in them. Fabricated material for bridge construction is frequently inspected[35] in the shop in order that the department may know that the proper material is used and how it is constructed.

After agreements have been made by the administrative department with the railroads in regard to crossings, it is necessary for the design department to make the special surveys and designs necessary for the work.

The greater part of the work of this department is bridge

[34] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 34.

[35] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 17.

and road designing. In designing a bridge it is necessary to know the height of the grade level from the water level, the length of the bridge, the area of the territory drained by the stream, the flow of water with necessary flood allowances, besides numerous other details, before the work can be completed.

Standard designs and plans for construction have been issued by the department for certain classes of bridges, culverts, and road construction. Copies of these are supplied to all county engineers.[36]

There are, however, specific and unique locations that demand special designs to meet conditions and these are prepared from field notes secured by the engineers of the department or from notes sent in by county engineers.[37]

The wide knowledge and experience of the department is made available to the counties in solving their bridge and drainage problems. And when the county so requests, the department will give direct assistance in determining the type and character of drainage structures and in the preliminary work in large bridge projects. In addition, the department also checks and approves secondary road plans. These plans, when made for work that is to be paid for wholly out of county funds, are prepared by county engineers, but they are checked and approved by district engineers, and copies are filed with the department.[38]

After the plans are finished, they go to the drafting rooms where the tracings are made for the blue printing process.

[36] *Standard Specifications for Road Construction* in *Service Bulletin,* Supplement to Vol. XV, No. 5; *Standard Specifications for Highway Bridges, Culverts and Incidental Structures* in *Service Bulletin,* Supplement to Vol. XIII, No. 5; *Standard Plans, 1916, Iowa State Highway Commission,* Concrete Box Culverts C series, Concrete Slab Bridges J series, Concrete Deck Girder Bridges H series.

[37] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 15.

[38] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, pp. 35, 36.

The blue prints are made on the latest type of blue printing machinery. All plans, tracings, and field note books, together with copies of the blue prints, are filed in a fireproof vault. The contractors and inspectors on each project are also provided with sets of blue prints. It is not easy to realize the enormous amount of work and expense that has been required to accomplish the surveys and produce these records.

Department of Materials. — The work of the department of design is but a part of the necessary preparation before the construction work can be done. In addition to plans and designs, the materials to be used and the specifications to be followed must be worked out. This is the work of the materials department.

The same system of selecting the head of this department and his assistant is employed as in the other departments. The qualifications demand wide experience in engineering problems, and a thorough knowledge of materials and the means of testing them. The work of the department is divided into four divisions — material resources, road and bridge specifications, inspection of materials, and research.[39]

Inspectors are sent out to locate and determine the extent of the material resources of the State available for road work. Estimates are also made as to the cost of making the material available. Particular attention is paid to gravel deposits or any rock deposits such as lime rock that might be used in surfacing roads. There are two important reasons for locating the material. The first and more important reason is that it may be used in road work. A second reason is based upon the fact that there are certain deposits of lime rock and other materials which are not especially desirable but which might be used if the cost of

[39] From a blue print of the organization.

other materials reached a certain point. Knowledge of the availability of such material tends to keep the price of road construction at a reasonable level.

Tests are made by the department of materials, and standard specifications for the use of materials are issued. For example, the fine aggregate for concrete shall consist of sand having durable grains, free from injurious amounts of silt, shale, coal, organic matter, or other injurious substances. The shale and coal particles must not exceed one per cent by weight, the silt must not exceed two and one-half per cent by weight, and the sand must not contain any organic impurities. In regard to size of particles one hundred per cent of the sand must pass through a ⅜ inch sieve and not more than five per cent through a No. 100 sieve. These standards provide uniformity and secure the best possible work all over the State.[40]

Special tests are made of bridge and culvert materials, and agreements are made with the manufacturers whereby they agree under an indemnity bond system to maintain certain specifications in material manufactured under stated brands for shipment into or for use in this State. The department places material so branded on an approved list that is available to all persons interested in road materials. This material may be used for road work so long as it is kept up to the agreed specifications. Tests of all material used in the road work are made frequently, however, to determine if it is being kept up to standard.

Close watch is also kept on the prices of materials and upon the trend in prices, and this information is available to the counties upon request. This reliable information as to the fair price of material should result in a considerable saving to county authorities. Although approval by

[40] *Standard Specifications for Road Construction* in *Service Bulletin,* Vol. XV, 1927, No. 5.

the Commission of material contracts for bridge and culvert materials awarded by counties on the basis of bids received at public letting is not required by law, many of the counties voluntarily submit such contracts for review. The department checks and returns them with the decisions and recommendations of the State engineers.[41]

A very important part of the work of the department is that of testing materials used in road work. These materials are not only tested as to quality or grade but tests are also made in order to determine just what materials are best for certain purposes. All classes of materials used on the primary and secondary roads are tested in various ways. The following list gives some idea of the nature of the material tested but is not all inclusive: cement, aggregate, combined aggregate, drain tile, reinforcing steel, metal culvert pipe, bituminous materials, water, stone, posts, guard rail cable, paint, soil, and concrete pipe.

This service is also available to the counties and tests are made for them upon payment of the actual cost of the work. Arrangements have also been made whereby tests are made for highway commissions of neighboring States and they in turn make certain tests for the Iowa Commission. Tests of deposits, manufacturers' samples, and other materials are likewise made for other State departments. The actual testing is done in the laboratories of the department at Ames, Des Moines, Davenport, and Mason City.[42]

The heads of the laboratories are selected by the head of the materials department with the approval of the chief engineer and the Commission. They are responsible to the head of the department. The laboratory heads must have special training for their work. They are usually selected

[41] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, pp. 18, 19.

[42] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, pp. 100, 102, 105.

from the members of the organization. The assistants in the laboratories are usually college or high school boys trained for the work. They are selected by the laboratory heads.

Information from the laboratories may be secured directly from the nearest laboratory, but as a rule this is handled through the head of the department of materials in order to divide the work among the laboratories. A great deal of information is always available at the Ames offices of the department and the work of the laboratories is regulated from that point. Work is done in the order received, as the importance of the work demands, or according to the necessity for immediate action. Work may be done for other States, but the work of its own organization is never allowed to be delayed or interfered with for the benefit of other States.

In order to determine the best methods, the best materials, and how best to use them, a number of research projects are carried on in connection with road work and road materials. The United States Bureau of Public Roads and the Highway Research Board of the National Research Council sponsor a part of the research work and bear a part of all the expense involved in the projects sponsored.[43] The importance of this work can not be over estimated, for upon it depends, in large measure, the progress in the building of more permanent and less expensive roads.

Department of Construction. — With the proper preparation made, the next step is the actual construction work on the roads. The work of construction is carried out under contracts entered into by the Commission with construction companies. In order to be sure that the specifications of

[43] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission*, 1925, pp. 133-135, 1926, p. 101.

the contracts are fully carried out and that the work is properly done, the department of construction provides a complete system of inspection and supervision.

The head of the department of construction is also assistant chief engineer.[44] He and his assistant general inspector are selected in the same manner as the heads of other departments. The whole aim of the Commission and of the entire organization is the construction of the primary roads. The construction department, having the supervision of the actual construction work, is the most prominent if not the most important of all the departments.

The head of the department and the general inspector must have a complete knowledge of road engineering and an extensive experience in the actual building of roads and bridges. The subordinates in the department are appointed by the head, with the approval of the chief engineer.

Resident engineers, selected by the chief engineer with the approval of the head of the construction department, are placed in charge of each project. They work under the direction of the department of construction, and must possess the special engineering ability necessary to the job which is under their supervision. They must also have a good deal of managing ability and a knowledge of human nature, in order to see that the specifications are properly carried out and that the contractor is at the same time satisfied. An engineer may be an excellent man as resident engineer on a gravel project and not so good on paving or he may be a good engineer and yet have a personality such that he will be unable to secure the coöperation of the contractor with whom he works.

In connection with the construction work, there are three divisions — purchase of right of way, contractual relations, and supervision of construction.

[44] From a blue print of the organization.

Due to the fact that in many cases the primary roads had to be relocated for various reasons, and that in many cases the original road, if located in the right place, was too narrow to carry the traffic, it has been found necessary to purchase an additional right of way for many primary roads. All the negotiations involved in this work are carried on by the construction department, and, if it becomes necessary, court action is resorted to in order to secure the proper right of way.[45]

In order that the public, the Commission, and the contractor himself shall be protected against bids for which the contractor does not have the funds or the equipment necessary to complete the work properly, the department requires certain reports to be filed at stated intervals by all road building contractors. These reports are made upon special forms provided, and show both the financial standing of the contractor and a complete list of his equipment as well as his experience in that line of work. Records are also kept of the work of each contractor showing the work done, the time taken, and the grade of work done, as well as his general efficiency in completing road contracts.[46]

The only way the Commission has of being sure that its plans and specifications are being carried out properly is through its supervisors and inspectors of construction. This work is of vital importance, for upon its proper execution depends the final success of the Commission in the construction of primary roads.

All projects are fully supervised, not only by a resident engineer but by other special inspectors, from the time they are begun until they are completed and accepted. These

[45] *Laws of Iowa*, 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 30.

[46] Iowa State Highway Commission's *Contractor's Financial Statement*, Form No. 380, and *Statement of Contractor's Experience and Equipment*, Form No. 380-A.

inspectors make tests of the materials used and see that the proper methods are employed in the construction work. Full reports are sent daily from each project while the work is being carried on, showing just how the work is progressing. These reports are filed and give a complete record of the work at any time.

Department of Maintenance. — In addition to the construction work the Commission must provide adequate maintenance for all primary roads of the State. This is an important function, for the life and efficiency of the roads depends upon their proper maintenance.

The maintenance engineer at the head of this department and his assistants are selected in the same manner as in the other departments. He must be an able road engineer with organizing ability. His assistant must likewise have the technical knowledge necessary to carry out the work of the department. This work is somewhat diversified as is indicated by the four divisions of the department — road signs; traffic surveys; machinery, building, and grounds; and maintenance of roads and bridges.[47]

In addition to its work on the roads the department has charge of the buildings, grounds, and machinery of the Commission. These include both the automobiles, trucks, and machinery bought by the Commission for the use of the organization and thousands of dollars worth of trucks, machinery, and material received from the Federal government. This material, a part of the surplus war material that was issued to the States, is stored, repaired, and overhauled, if necessary, and then issued to the counties to be used in road work.[48] This government material has been a real help to the State and to the counties and has enabled

[47] From a blue print of the organization.

[48] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 58.

the Commission to equip an excellent machine shop for the repair of machinery.

The real purpose of the department, however, is to facilitate traffic on the roads. A system of uniform permanent signs has been adopted, in harmony with those selected by the American Association of State Highway Officials. The numbers assigned to interstate roads have, whenever possible, been made to correspond with the numbers of the roads as they enter the State. The signs, indicating the number of the road, have been installed and a large number of warning signs, pointing out curves, bridges, or dangerous crossings, have been put up. In accordance with the law making it necessary for all cars entering primary roads to come to a full stop, "stop" signs are being placed on all roads intersecting primary roads.[49] The object of all signs is the welfare of the traveler: they inform him of the road he is on or warn him of possible danger. To be effective, however, their warnings and advice must be heeded.

Inasmuch as the department has charge of the maintenance of the roads, it is in position to aid in deciding upon the proper surfacing of the primary roads. If the traffic is large it does not pay to use gravel, since the cost of maintenance is too great. Comparison of the figures for maintenance depreciation between graveled and paved roads indicates that when traffic exceeds 500 cars per day it becomes economical to pave a road. Moreover, on the basis of tire wear alone, graveled roads bearing a traffic of 500 vehicles per day should be paved for economy's sake. To determine the amount of traffic, surveys are made wherein an actual count is made of the number of vehicles

[49] *Service Bulletin,* Vol. XIV, 1926, Nos. 10-11-12, pp. 7, 8; *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 60; *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 105, Secs. 3, 4.

that pass certain points between five o'clock in the morning and eleven o'clock at night. From these counts some idea can be gained as to the advisability of using gravel or concrete as a surface for that road.[50]

The most vital work of the department is the maintenance of the primary roads and the bridges thereon. The aim of the department is to keep all roads open for traffic if possible. Bridges are maintained and repaired, roads are dragged, and mud holes drained or filled, and in winter the snow is removed.[51]

The actual work of maintenance is carried out by patrolmen who spend full time upon the roads. These patrolmen are under the direct control of the maintenance superintendents who hire them for the work.[52] County engineers were at first used as county maintenance superintendents, the primary road fund paying part of the engineer's salary. As the maintenance work increased from year to year, it became impossible for the county engineers to attend to both jobs, and it is now the policy of the Highway Commission to combine from two to four counties in a maintenance district and put a competent maintenance superintendent in charge.[53] The district engineers or the assistant district engineers in charge of maintenance have general supervision over the work in each district, and see that the plans of the department are carried out.[54]

[50] *Service Bulletin,* Vol. XIV, 1926, Nos. 4-5-6, p. 10, Vol. XV, 1927, Nos. 10-11-12, p. 12; *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, p. 60.

[51] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1925, p. 110, 1926, p. 56.

[52] Iowa State Highway Commission's *Instructions to Patrolmen,* Form 520.

[53] Letter from J. W. Eichinger, Bulletin Editor, State Highway Commission, dated December 23, 1930.

[54] For an account of the district engineers and their work see below, pp. 74, 75.

Letters of instruction in regard to the various phases of maintenance are issued by the department to the district engineers and to the maintenance superintendents for guidance in their work. They in return make reports on the condition and needs of the roads under their control. From this data the department prepares a map showing the condition of the primary road system on December first of each year.[55] From the reports of the district engineers and the maintenance superintendents the weekly road condition maps are prepared. Any complaints in regard to the maintenance of primary, county, or township roads is investigated and adjusted by this department.[56]

Department of Purchases and Accounts. — The one exception to the highly centralized system of control is found in the department of purchases and accounts. A resident auditor who has supervision over the accounting work of the department is independent of the control of the chief engineer or of the Commission. He is appointed by the State Board of Audit and works under its direction and supervision. He may be removed from office by the Executive Council for failure to comply with the directions and instructions of the State Board of Audit in the performance of his duties. It is the duty of this auditor to pass upon and certify the bills of the Commission before they are paid. In addition to this supervision by the State Board of Audit, the State Budget Director in connection with a certified public accountant makes an annual audit of the books and accounts. It appears that an honest effort has been made to secure efficient supervision of the expenditures of the Commission.[57] With the accounting sys-

[55] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, pp. 58, 59.

[56] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1925, p. 110.

[57] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 103, Sec. 3, 1929, Ch. 28, Sec. 1.

tem constantly under the supervision of the State Board of Audit there is reason to believe that an adequate check is maintained on its accounts.

The head of the department of purchases and accounts, who is the auditor of the Commission, and his assistant, the chief clerk, are appointed by the Commission with the advice of the chief engineer. The auditor must be a trained accountant with the ability to carry out the work of the department and must give bonds in the sum of fifty thousand dollars for the faithful performance of his duties.[58]

The work of the department is primarily of a financial nature, with the exception of the division of publications. These are classified under this department but they are actually handled under the supervision of the chief engineer.

The department issues weekly reports of road and bridge lettings. These reports take the place of all other notices as to lettings and are mailed to construction and contracting companies upon the payment of two dollars per year.[59] Maps showing the condition of the roads and the progress made in road construction are also issued weekly. These are copied widely by the newspapers of the State and are of great value to those who use the roads.[60] Standard specifications and all blank forms and printed matter for the organization are issued through the accounting department.

This department audits and approves all vouchers for material or services and thus has a direct check on the expenditures of the Commission. To provide for a proper

[58] *Laws of Iowa*, 1927, Ch. 103, Sec. 3.

[59] See copies of the Iowa State Highway Commission's *Weekly Letting Reports.*

[60] See road maps in various papers, for example, the *Des Moines Sunday Register.*

accounting of all expenditures, each department is required to keep a complete set of books. These books are audited by the accounting department giving it a close check on the expenditures of each department as well as those of the entire organization.[61]

The department also keeps complete records of all financial transactions and makes the necessary financial statements and reports at regular periods.[62] Expenditures are classified in accordance with the requirements of the legislative acts under which the Commission acts and in order to keep accounts properly. Expenditures from the Highway Commission support fund are classified under four heads — supervision of county and township work; engineering work for other State Departments; building and grounds; and construction, engineering, inspection, and administration. Money from the primary road fund is listed under the two heads — construction and maintenance.

In connection with the finances of the Commission, the question most often asked is: what per cent of the expenditures goes for engineering, inspection, and administration. The report of the Commission for 1930 gives a direct answer to this question — 5.25 per cent.[63]

DISTRICT DIVISIONS

To bring the Commission into more direct contact with the road problems and road work, the State is divided into nine districts. At the head of each district is a district engineer selected by the chief engineer and responsible to him, although much of his work is actually done through the construction department. This district engineer must

[61] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1926, pp. 110-117.

[62] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1929, p. 16.

[63] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1929, pp. 7, 16.

be an engineer of high order and must become familiar with his district and know its conditions, needs, and problems in regard to roads, in order to give information through personal knowledge to the chief engineer or to the Commission. He has general supervision of the work of the Commission in his district, and acts as a link between the Commission and the county supervisors. He has direct charge of the survey parties whose duty it is to make the necessary surveys in his district. He also has control of the material inspectors in his district. He is responsible for all work done in his district and must see that it is properly supervised. He is also at the head of the maintenance work in his district and supervises the work of the maintenance superintendent.[64]

Depending on conditions, one or two assistant district engineers are provided. They are appointed by the chief engineer with the approval of the district engineer. These men must be experienced in the work they are to do. The assistant district engineer in charge of the construction has supervision of all construction projects and of the resident engineers in charge of the work. The assistant district engineer in charge of maintenance has supervision over the maintenance of the roads in the district, and approves the patrolmen appointed by the superintendent of maintenance. It is through the district engineer and his assistants and subordinates that the chief engineer has a direct personal check upon the work of the organization.

COOPERATING AGENCIES

No study of the organization of the State Highway Commission would be complete without mention of two closely related organizations both of which are working for road

[64] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission*, 1929, pp. 13, 14; blue print of the organization.

improvement and both of which are directly connected with the work of the Commission.

The Federal Bureau of Public Roads. — The Federal aid, granted to the States for road construction and maintenance, has been a matter of prime importance in road legislation since 1916. The question of meeting the Federal requirements has led to a number of laws granting the State Highway Commission various powers. The latest provisions of the law are as follows:

> The state highway commission is empowered on behalf of the state to enter into any arrangement or contract with and required by the duly constituted federal authorities, in order to secure the full coöperation of the government of the United States, and the benefit of all present and future federal allotments in aid of highway construction, reconstruction, improvement or maintenance. The good faith of the state is hereby pledged to cause to be made available each year, sufficient funds to equal the total of any sums now or hereafter apportioned to the state for road purposes by the United States government for such year, and to maintain the roads constructed with said funds.[65]

This makes the Federal Bureau, for all practical purposes, a part of the State organization, and in order to understand how the Federal Bureau exercises its functions of aid and inspection, it is necessary to know something of its organization.

It is composed of a headquarters staff of eight divisions, at the headquarters office in Washington, operating directly under the chief of the bureau in the Washington office. Three of these — the divisions of design, construction, and bridges — constitute the staff which under the chief engineer and chief of bureau are responsible for the conduct of the Federal aid and forest road work. The division of

[65] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 1.

control is responsible for all accounting, for statistics and records, and for the investigation of the economy and efficiency of road construction. The division of tests and research carries on all physical researches and makes routine tests of highway materials. The division of highway transportation and economy conducts research along economic lines with particular reference to the economics of highway transportation. In addition, there are legal and editorial divisions performing obvious functions.

In addition to the headquarters staff, there is a field force through which direct contact is maintained with the several States in all matters relating to the Federal aid and forest road work. This work is headed by eleven district engineers with offices in Troy, New York; Washington, D. C.; Montgomery, Alabama; Chicago, Illinois; St. Paul, Minnesota; Omaha, Nebraska; Fort Worth, Texas; Denver, Colorado; Ogden, Utah; Portland, Oregon; and San Francisco, California. Iowa is in the Omaha district.[66]

It is through this organization that the Federal aid work is planned, the plans approved, and the work carried out and accepted. All communications of the State Commission are sent to the Federal office at Omaha which, in turn, sends them on to Washington. All plans and estimates must be approved by the Bureau, and rigid inspection of construction is maintained by Federal inspectors, who are entirely independent of the Iowa State Highway Commission and under the direct control of the Federal office at Omaha. These inspectors make periodical inspections, arriving without warning and remaining as long as they find it necessary. They must have personal knowledge of the work they report on both during and after construction. Their reports are made directly to the Omaha office,

[66] *Service Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, 1926, Nos. 10-11-12, p. 11.

although if the work does not meet with their approval they may also notify the proper representative of the Commission.

All Federal aid work must be approved and accepted by the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, with the signature of the Secretary of Agriculture, before payment is made. In addition to approval and acceptance of construction work, the Federal Bureau also checks up all Federal aid accounts through the Omaha office. They not only make sure that the construction work is of the necessary type and properly carried out but they demand that there shall be no undue waste or expense in getting it done.

County Boards of Supervisors. — The work of the State Highway Commission is also closely related to that of the county boards of supervisors. The supervisors have, at present, no control over the primary roads but their relationship with the Commission in matters pertaining to secondary road work and road improvement projects is such that it must be considered in any study of the Commission. The Commission acts as a check and as an expert advisory body to the supervisors in road construction and maintenance and it has compulsory, supervisory, and associate powers in relationship to them. This is of additional importance since the supervisors have now been given control of the township roads as well as the county trunk lines.

It might seem that this would result in conflicts or strained relations between the State and county highway authorities, but on the whole the Commission has so satisfactorily carried out its work that supervisors and county engineers, recognizing the value of its work, are voluntarily asking for the advice and approval of the Commission on road problems over which it has no control. There are

several ways in which the supervisors may communicate with the Highway Commission. Since the county auditor is the official secretary of the board of supervisors,[67] reports between the two bodies are usually sent through him. If, however, it is a rather technical matter, the county engineer may take charge of the correspondence. As a general rule communications are made through the district engineer of the Highway Commission. He knows the conditions and problems of the county and acts as the "go-between" for the Highway Commission and the supervisors, but the board of supervisors or the county engineers may, if necessary, communicate directly with the chief engineer or the heads of departments. The supervisors often meet with the Commission at Ames in order to discuss more fully certain important problems.

The county engineer often acts as a resident engineer for the State Highway Commission on primary road construction projects, and during that time he becomes an employee of the Commission and not of the board of supervisors. In the regular course of his duty, however, he acts as inspector of work done on the secondary roads for the Commission and makes certain reports to them.[68] Though he is selected by the supervisors, a county engineer may be dismissed by the Commission if they find him incompetent to carry on the work properly.[69]

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF THE HIGHWAY COMMISSION

The main function of the State Highway Commission is the maintenance, improvement, and construction of the primary roads, but a number of powers and duties relative

[67] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 5141.

[68] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 252; *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1927, Pt. 2.

[69] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4641.

to secondary roads have been added to the responsibilities of the Commission. Before studying the more important functions relative to both primary and secondary roads, a brief account of the classification of roads in Iowa may be worth while.

Classification of Roads. — According to the Iowa highway act of 1927, all roads of the State are to be divided into two systems.[70] The primary road system includes "those main market roads (not including roads within cities and towns) which connect all county seat towns and cities and main market centers". The Forty-third General Assembly defined secondary roads as all public highways except primary roads, State roads, and highways within cities and towns. Primary roads upon which Federal aid funds are expended are marked as United States highways. All other primary roads are State highways. The secondary roads are now classified as county trunk roads and local county roads. These local county roads were formerly township roads.[71]

The mileage of the present county trunk roads may not be materially increased until the construction work thereon is substantially completed, except that the board of supervisors may, with the approval of the State Highway Commission, modify, relocate, or make additions to the system.[72]

The State Highway Commission and the Secondary Roads. — The powers of the State Highway Commission over secondary roads may be divided into three classes: compulsory, supervisory, and associate. The purpose is to prevent extravagant and unwise improvement programs,

[70] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 2.

[71] *Laws of Iowa,* 1929, Ch. 20, Sec. 5.

[72] *Laws of Iowa,* 1929, Ch. 20, Sec. 6.

to act as a unifying agent giving some semblance of uniformity and coherence to the road work throughout the State, and to provide for the highest possible efficiency and economy in road plans and construction.

The Highway Commission furnishes free of charge to the counties and railroad companies standard specifications and plans for all bridges and culverts, railroad overhead crossings, or subways, and the work must be done in accordance with these plans.[73] This not only gives more uniformity to the work in the State but gives assurance that these structures when completed will be of correct design for the purpose and meet all the requirements of their location.

In order to secure uniformity and continuity in the road building program of the State, all plans for connecting inter-county roads and for improving and bridging county boundary roads are subject to the approval of the Commission. If the supervisors of the counties involved refuse or fail to agree on a program, the Highway Commission may, on its own motion, notify the auditors of the counties, hold a hearing, and decide on a proper program. The decision made by the Commission is final and its program must be carried out.[74]

The object of the supervision of the Commission is not to interfere with the work of the supervisors, but by making available the wider engineering skill and knowledge of material and road building possessed by the Highway Commission to prevent unwise programs of road building and unduly high contracts for the work. Thus the county engineer, after making his surveys of each section of the county road system, must submit the survey notes with

[73] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4671.

[74] *Code of 1927,* Secs. 4661, 4662.

his report upon the work and the plans for the improvement of the section. The engineers of the Commission go over these reports, notes, and plans, pass upon their thoroughness, feasibility, and practicability, and, if it is found necessary, modify or change them before giving approval.[75]

The secondary road law, passed by the Forty-third General Assembly, also required that the board of supervisors of each county prepare and submit to the Highway Commission for approval a definite program of road and bridge improvement in advance of the expenditure of funds. This must insure to all of the county equitable treatment. The plans may be for one year or for a maximum period of three years.[76]

To prevent contracts at exorbitant prices, the law provides that whenever the county engineer's estimate of cost exceeds one thousand dollars, the contracts or plans for carrying out culvert or bridge construction, grading, drainage, or repair work, and contracts for materials therefor must be publicly let, or if privately let or built by day labor, must be approved by the Commission.[77] For the same reason, any contract for any one bridge or culvert or repairs thereon which exceeds two thousand dollars shall first be approved by the Highway Commission before it shall be effective as a contract, and a record of the final cost, with any change of plans, must be filed with the Commission on completion of any such highway bridge or culvert.[78]

In the establishment of assessment districts the board of supervisors shall file with the Highway Commission a

[75] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4645.

[76] *Laws of Iowa,* 1929, Ch. 20, Sec. 25.

[77] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4647.

[78] *Code of 1927,* Secs. 4672, 4674.

copy of the order, and a copy of the engineer's plat. The plans for the improvement are made by the county engineer but he must use the standard specifications of the Commission for the class of the improvement contemplated. If the contracts involved in the work exceed the sum of five thousand dollars they also must be approved by the Commission. The Commission also approves plans for bridges and culverts on city boundary lines whose specifications have been agreed to jointly by the council and the board of supervisors.[79]

If the supervisors desire they can make application to the Commission for changes or modification of the established county trunk road system. The Commission has the power to approve such changes or modifications if they are for the purpose of eliminating dangerous crossings or curves or when such change would materially decrease the cost of improving or maintaining the road.[80]

The supervision by the Commission is not irksome and has, for the most part, been welcomed by the supervisors, for it gives them a source of valuable and reliable information. In fact, supervisors often consult the Commission in matters over which it has no legal control.

The State Highway Commission and Primary Roads. — The State Highway Commission has been given general supervision and control of all primary roads in the State. The power of the county supervisors relative to such roads was eliminated in 1927 both as to construction and maintenance, except that a county may vote bonds to secure money to be used on such roads.[81]

[79] *Code of 1927,* Secs. 4666, 4747, 4748.

[80] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4637.

[81] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Secs. 2, 8, 1929, Ch. 23; *Code of 1927,* Secs. 4753-a10, 4755-b2.

The Commission prepared complete plans for the paving and graveling of the primary roads and these plans were adopted by the Forty-second General Assembly as a part of the act authorizing a State bond issue.[82] These plans have formed the basis for all improvement of the primary roads, though the bond issue itself was declared to be unconstitutional.

The plans were of a general nature stating only the kind of surfacing to be used. The selection of the particular section of the road to be improved at a given time rests with the Commissioners. Their power to initiate improvements and to decide what roads shall be improved is complete. However, due to the fact that much of the work is carried on by means of county bond issues, the supervisors have had a great deal of influence in selecting the type of surface and the roads to be improved. The plans, of course, must meet the approval of the Commission.

In making their decision the Commissioners consider the needs of the State rather than the desires of the local communities, and in planning improvements the Commission endeavors to carry out a program that will result in improved roads across the State.[83] In deciding what roads shall be improved the Commission consults the supervisors of the counties involved and secures their coöperation, for as a rule county supervisors are eager for the Commission to improve the primary roads of their county.

Before tentative plans can be made by the Commission to improve a certain section of the primary road, it is necessary to make an inspection of the road. This work is usually done by a field engineer from the headquarters of the Highway Commission and the district engineer. The engineers take note of the condition of the road, the

[82] *Laws of Iowa,* 1928, Special Session, Ch. 2, Sec. 1.

[83] *Service Bulletin,* Vol. XIII, 1925, Nos. 7-8-9, p. 1.

amount of work to be done, the difficulties that may arise in construction, the amount of traffic on the road, and the importance of the road as a connecting link for through roads.

From this information the department prepares a project statement setting forth the location of the road, the type of improvement proposed, an estimate of the cost of the proposed improvement, a statement as to funds available for the work, and any other information necessary to enable the Commission to pass upon the merits of the proposed project. This is submitted to the State Highway Commission for its consideration and approval. The chief engineer presents the plans to the Commission and often the county supervisors or other interested groups of citizens meet with the Highway Commissioners in order to discuss the project more fully. The Commission, after extensive investigation and consideration, makes its final decision in regard to the project and if it is approved a time is set when the project may be undertaken.

The plans are then turned over to the department of design which makes the preliminary survey. These preliminary surveys involve an enormous amount of work. The notes of the surveys must be complete enough to enable the office force to make drawings which will show the condition of every foot of the road to be improved. They must show the drainage area for each bridge and culvert, and indicate the portion of the road which will need special drainage. The plans will necessarily depend upon the nature of the proposed improvement but the first step is always the same, that is to bring the road up to standard grade and provide subsurface drainage wherever needed. In primary road improvement, the policy of the Commission is to eliminate sharp curves, corners, and railroad grade crossings wherever possible. Such proposed changes

must all be indicated in the plans and specifications. In the matter of curves it is necessary to determine the length of the curve and the necessary bank, in order to maintain a certain speed in turning the corner in safety.

The survey notes are sent to the office men of the department of design who prepare complete plans for the roads. These plans show every detail of the work and give a complete picture of the road. The detailed plans must be approved by the chief engineer and the Commission.

If the Commission decides that the project is to be a Federal aid project, the plans must be sent to the Federal district engineers at Omaha. They in turn send them to Washington to receive the approval of the Chief of the Bureau of Roads and the signature of the Secretary of Agriculture.

In order to avoid unnecessary work and delay in negotiations with the Federal Bureau of Roads the Iowa Highway Commission has drawn up a set of standard specifications for all classes of work. These have been approved by the Federal Bureau and all that is necessary in seeking approval of a new project is to send in the variations from these plans, or supplementary plans as they are called, citing the standard specifications for the remainder. This lessens the time necessary for approval and is much more efficient, since it saves needless duplication of work.

While this work is going on, the administration department prepares the way for the letting of the contracts. By the time the necessary approval has been secured, the administration department is ready to set a date for the letting and to notify contractors to send in their bids. This is done by means of a weekly letting report that is issued by the bulletin division of this department. This letting report carries a calendar of lettings scheduled, a complete description of all contracts to be let, the date of the letting,

the place where it is to be held, as well as where additional information is available, and the results of previous lettings held. The administrative department plans to have the notice in at least one issue of the report. This report is sent to all subscribers upon the payment of two dollars per year, and takes the place of all other forms of notice.[84]

The contractors send in sealed bids on special forms provided by the administrative department for that purpose. Each bid must be accompanied by a certified check for five per cent of the amount of the bid, in order to insure the good faith of the bidder. Because certain contractors are likely to bid on more work than they can handle, due to lack of capital or equipment, the Commission requires that contractors file reports of their financial standing and equipment at intervals and a record is kept of their work in filling their contracts. In this way the public, the Commission, the bond companies, and the contractors themselves are protected from failures in completing the work. All proposals are filed with the auditor of the State Highway Commission.

When the date arrives, the Commissioners meet in a special room in the office building at Ames, the chief engineer and other engineers of the organization meet with them, and often a number of contractors are present if the letting is important. It is not unusual for an important letting to be attended by from 200 to 300 persons.

The administration department has entire charge of the proceedings. The proposals are brought in by the auditor and they are opened and inspected one at a time. They are passed through the hands of all the Commissioners and to the chief engineer. In this way any mistake in form or omission is sure to be detected. The bids are then turned

[84] For illustrations of this see Iowa State Highway Commission's *Weekly Letting Reports.*

over to engineers who take them to their offices and make the extensions necessary for a comparison of the bids. After they return the bids and make their report, the Commission discusses the bids and awards the contract or decides to reject all proposals.

If a proposal is accepted, the contractor is notified that he is the successful bidder, but his five per cent deposit is held until he furnishes the project bond guaranteeing the completion of the work, when it is returned to him. All other certified checks are returned at once. The construction department is notified and appoints a resident engineer and the necessary inspector. If it is a Federal aid project the Omaha office is notified and a copy of the contract is sent for their approval. Until this is received, the work can not be started.

The resident engineer must see that the stakes are set for the contractor, and that he makes reasonable progress in the work. He must also prevent friction with the local community. The work of the inspectors is also very important, for they must be reasonable and able to secure the coöperation of the contractor and at the same time see that the work is carried out in accordance with all specifications. If an inspector incurs the ill will of a contractor it is difficult thereafter to secure the coöperation which is essential to the best work.

There is at least one construction inspector with each "mixer" crew on a paving job. It is his duty to see that the sub-grade work is carried out in accordance with the specifications, the mixer operations properly carried out, the reinforcing metal properly placed, the finishing done in accordance with specifications, and the curing process in accordance with the prescribed practice. His word is law. If the crew is not doing its work in accordance with the instruction, and the inspector orders a shutdown, the

work stops until he says it may continue. He works directly under the resident engineer.

In addition there are inspectors at whatever plants the contractor may have for preparing or supplying his material. For example, an inspector is placed at the central mixing plants to see that the aggregate and cement are dumped in the proper proportions into the trucks for hauling to the mixer on the job. These inspectors make frequent tests of the material as it goes into the bins and hoppers. Much of the gravel and cement is tested first in the car at the plant of the producing company before shipment. Samples are tested either by an inspector who stays at the plant and has testing equipment set up in a small laboratory of his own or the sample material is sent for testing to one of the regular laboratories of the Commission. By the time the car of material arrives at its destination the information as to its acceptability is at hand.

Daily reports are made to the construction department and any delay in the work is noted. So detailed are these reports that if a mixer is stopped for an hour the Ames office knows of it together with the cause and how it was corrected.

In the meantime the maintenance department has been notified of the beginning of construction and it must see that proper detours are marked out where necessary and that such detours are properly maintained during the construction period.

The department of materials is also notified in order that it may be ready to take care of the necessary tests. The department not only tests the material that is used but samples are cut from the completed slabs after the pavement is finished, showing the material actually used in the construction and these are subjected to tests at the

end of different periods of time. Every effort is made to secure the best possible work.

When the work is completed the contractor must maintain the road until the work is approved and accepted by the Commission. If it is a Federal aid project it must also be approved by a representative of the United States Secretary of Agriculture. Final inspection is made and surveys taken to determine the exact amount of work done, for payment is based on the amount of work that was actually done. When the inspectors have completed the final inspection and reported the work satisfactory, the work is accepted by the Commission, the final payments are made, and the contractor is released from all responsibility, with the exception that his bond protects the State against defective materials and workmanship for a period of five years.[85]

The contractor is paid by warrants issued by the State Auditor upon the primary road fund in the hands of the State Treasurer, upon the presentation of vouchers sworn to by the contractor, certified by the engineer in charge of the work, and approved by the auditor of the Commission.[86]

The bridge and culvert work upon the primary roads is now entirely under the control of the Commission, and is handled in the same manner as any other construction work on the primary roads.

After the road is accepted it is the duty of the maintenance department to see that it is properly maintained. This duty at one time rested with the supervisors but it is now in the hands of the Commission.[87] The maintenance work is very important, inasmuch as the life and efficiency

[85] *Service Bulletin,* Vol. X, 1922, Supplement to March number, pp. 11-13.

[86] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 103, Sec. 2.

[87] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 8.

of all road construction depends a great deal upon its maintenance.

The maintenance department carries out this work through patrolmen who are employed for full time and are equipped with the most efficient means of keeping the roads in shape. Tractor graders are used, and improved methods and machines are worked out at Ames in order to do this work in the best possible manner and in the least possible time. The maintenance superintendent may give the patrolmen the power to employ other aid in case of blocked roads due to snow or other exceptional conditions.[88] The aim of this department is to keep the roads open and the traffic moving.

The final judgment as to the efficiency of the Highway Commission must be based upon the work done under its

Data Showing Condition of Primary Roads of Iowa as of December, 1919, to December, 1930

Year	Ungraded Earth	Brought to Permanent Grade	Graveled	Paved	Total
1919	4833.3	879.0	683.6	25.0	6421.0
1920	4739.0	1021.0	792.0	67.0	6619.0
1921	3775.6	1447.8	1156.6	236.0	6616.0
1922	2961.8	1761.1	1558.0	334.4	6615.3
1923	2337.9	2001.2	1888.4	419.1	6646.6
1924	2058.6	1934.4	2164.4	502.3	6659.7
1925	1848.7	1796.0	2460.8	568.6	6674.1
1926	1451.8	1732.3	2819.4	650.2	6653.7
1927	1083.4	1416.8	3225.5	939.7	6665.4
1928	801.0	1114.3	3221.3	1624.5	6761.1
1929	601.7	714.8	3136.6	2317.2	6770.3
1930	593.9	512.8	2863.3	3271.9	7241.9

[88] *Code of 1927,* Ch. 243; Iowa State Highway Commission's *Instructions to Patrolmen,* Form 520.

direction and control. The condition of the primary roads and the work of transforming ungraded dirt roads to paved highways is shown in the table above.

These figures give an idea of how fast Iowa has forged ahead in the matter of highway improvement. At the beginning of the year 1920 about 10 per cent of the primary road system was graveled or paved, and an additional 13 per cent had been brought to permanent grade. On December 1, 1930, over 86 per cent of the primary road system of the State was surfaced with gravel or paving and about 92 per cent had been brought to permanent grade, including surfaced roads. By the close of 1930 Iowa had more than 6000 miles of hard surfaced highways.

At the close of the year 1919, Iowa had approximately 25 miles of paved roads, outside cities and towns. In 1926 Iowa stood seventeenth among the States in the mileage of concrete highways. Indeed it was not until 1928 that Iowa passed the first thousand mile mark in paved roads. In the last three years, however, her construction program has been noteworthy — 741 miles built in 1928, 739 in 1929, and 1029.7 miles in 1930. These figures include paving laid on extensions of the primary roads inside cities and towns.

At the beginning of the year 1930 Iowa had 2317 miles of paving on its primary road system and was outranked by only five States — Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, Wisconsin, and Michigan. By the close of the year, Iowa reported 3271.9 miles of paving, exclusive of that laid on extensions of primary roads inside cities and towns. Its rank at the close of 1930 can not be given until final reports on the road building work of the other States have been published.

Seven roads crossing Iowa from east to west and three roads crossing the State north and south have been either paved or graveled. Two of these roads — No. 34 and No.

65 are entirely paved the width and length of the State. Two other east-west roads are paved across the State except for short stretches of gravel — 3 miles on No. 30 and 14 miles on No. 32. It is now possible to travel on a paved highway from every county seat in Iowa to the capital of the State.

Such road construction has, of course, involved an enormous expenditure of money and labor. It has been done, in Iowa, without the issue of bonds by the State, although many of the counties have issued bonds. During 1930 the State Highway Commission of Iowa spent $46,073,658 on the primary roads of the State. For this money the Commonwealth received 1029.7 miles of additional paved roads, 247.1 more miles of graveled roads, 551.65 miles of road brought to grade but not graveled or paved, and the maintenance of the entire 7241.9 miles of primary roads.[89] It should be kept in mind that 471.6 miles were added to the primary road system late in 1930, but these were not maintained through the year with primary funds.

Interstate Roads. — The question of bridging or improving an interstate road or roads along the border between two States is one that requires considerable negotiation because of the numerous organizations involved and the question of a just distribution of the expense. This matter is handled through the coöperation of the State Highway Commission, the county boards of supervisors, and the highway authorities of the neighboring States.[90]

Authority of State Highway Commission Within Municipalities. — The State Highway Commission has jurisdiction, "subject to the approval of the Council", to construct or improve a street or road which is a continuation

[89] *Des Moines Sunday Register,* October 26, 1930, Iowa Sec., pp. 1, 2.

[90] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4663.

of a primary road within the limits of any town or city having a population of less than twenty-five hundred, and within that part of any other city where the houses are not less than two hundred feet apart. The cost of hard surfacing such a street with paving twenty feet wide is paid from the primary road fund. The phrase "subject to the approval of the Council" was construed by an act of the Forty-third General Assembly to authorize the council to act "only in its relation to municipal improvements" such as sewers, water lines, grades, and streets. "The location of such primary road extensions", the new highway law provides, "shall be determined by the state highway commission".[91]

The Commission is required to furnish and place along the primary road extensions in all cities and towns suitable standard signs showing the districts, whether business, school, residence, or suburban, which a vehicle is entering and the speed limit. In cities and towns having a population of less than four thousand the council must have the approval of the State Highway Commission for ordinances regulating the traffic at intersections of primary road extensions and boulevards or heavy traffic streets. Such municipalities may not erect any stop and go signals without the approval of the Commission nor may they, without the consent of the Commission, close or obstruct any street or highway used as an extension of a primary road within such city or town, except at times of fires or for the purpose of doing construction or repair work. These provisions apply to all cities within the State with the exception of the business district in cities having a population of four thousand or over.[92]

[91] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 4755-b26; *Laws of Iowa*, 1929, Ch. 159.

[92] *Laws of Iowa*, 1929, Ch. 161.

FINANCES AND ACCOUNTING

The proper administration of the finances of any governmental agency is an important matter; and when that agency expends large sums of money the sources of that money and adequate checks on its expenditure become a matter of prime importance.

The administration of the finances of the Highway Commission is under the supervision and control of the State Board of Audit, and not under the sole control of the Commission.[93] The money in all funds is held by the State Treasurer and is paid out by him upon warrants issued by the State Auditor. These warrants are issued upon the receipt of vouchers approved by the auditor of the Commission, sworn to by the person presenting the claim, and certified to by the engineer in charge of the work.[94]

The State Auditor, the auditor of the Commission, and each department keeps a full record of its financial transactions and detailed financial reports are made and published each year.[95] This makes available a reliable source of information in regard to all expenditures.

To understand these reports it is necessary to be familiar with the different funds provided for the use of the Commission, with the sources of revenue for each, and the expenditures for which each may be used.

Three separate funds are provided for the Commission: the primary road fund, to be used exclusively for construction and maintenance work; the maintenance or support fund, to be used for the support of the Commission itself; and a contingent fund to be used for emergency purposes. In addition to these three funds the receipts from the sale

[93] For a description of accounting methods see above, pp. 72-74.

[94] *Laws of Iowa*, 1927, Ch. 103, Sec. 2.

[95] *Code of 1927*, Sec. 4626; *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission*, various years.

of county bonds have become an important source of revenue for construction work upon the primary roads.

The Primary Road Fund. — The primary road fund is the fund which has been created for the construction and maintenance of the primary roads. This fund is used directly in surveying, grading, bridging, and surfacing the primary roads of the State or in repaying funds so used. The fund is derived from four sources: license fees paid on motor vehicles, taxes levied on the sale of gasoline, grants of aid from the Federal government, and surpluses from the maintenance funds of the Highway Commission and the Motor Vehicle Department.[96]

This fund receives approximately 93 per cent of all the money paid to the State for licenses, penalties, and transfers on motor vehicles. In other words ninety-three cents out of every dollar derived from the annual registration of motor vehicles is expended directly in the construction and maintenance of the primary roads. The remaining amount, approximately 7 per cent, is used as follows: 2½ per cent to maintain the State Highway Commission, 3½ per cent to maintain the Motor Vehicle Department, and ½ of one per cent for the reimbursement of overcharges in registration. In addition to these amounts a fee of fifty cents for each motor vehicle registered is retained by the county as a collection fee.[97]

The original law levying the two cent per gallon tax on all gasoline imported and used in the State provided that one-third of the revenue so derived should be used on the primary roads. In order to obtain a larger revenue from this source to reimburse counties for money expended on bridges, culverts, and new rights of way on roads later

[96] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1927, p. 26.

[97] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4999.

taken into the primary system the Forty-second General Assembly in 1927 levied an additional one cent tax on gasoline. Any surplus from this source was to be added to the primary road fund. Under the provisions of the present law the primary road fund is accredited with one-third of the original two cent tax and the entire revenue derived from the additional one cent tax.[98]

The primary road fund is assigned the money allotted to the State by the Federal government under the Federal law granting aid to the States in the construction, improvement, and maintenance of roads.[99]

The fund is also credited at the close of each calendar year with any unexpended balance remaining in the maintenance fund for the State Highway Commission, in the maintenance fund for the Motor Vehicle Department, and in the reimbursement fund for the payment of refunds, which have accrued from the motor vehicle license fees paid in for that period.[100]

As stated above, this money is expended directly by the Commission in the improvement, construction, and maintenance of the primary roads or in the repayment of funds so used.

Before the Commission can use any of this fund for improvement or construction purposes it must set aside an amount sufficient for the proper maintenance of the primary roads of the State during the year. This assures the proper care of the roads already constructed before additional work is undertaken.[101]

The larger part of the primary road fund is expended

[98] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 3, Ch. 103, Sec. 1; *Code of 1927,* Ch. 251-A1.

[99] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1927, p. 26.

[100] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 5002.

[101] *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4772.

for construction purposes. This includes such work as grading, graveling, paving, providing drainage for roads, bridge and culvert work, erecting guard rails, purchase of right of way, purchase of machinery and equipment, and engineering work.[102]

The primary road funds are also used to retire and pay interest on county bonds issued for the purpose of improving the primary roads.[103] The county bond issue relative to the improvement of the primary roads will be discussed later but it is necessary to point out at this time that in using the primary road fund to retire bonds so issued is but an indirect method of expending it for construction work on the roads.

Maintenance or Support Fund. — In order to maintain a separate account for the support of the Commission an entirely separate fund is provided. This is known as the maintenance or support fund of the Commission and is used to pay salaries, office expenses, heat, light, and the other necessary expenses of maintaining the organization.[104]

The revenue for the support of the Commission is of two types, the first directly from the State, the second indirectly through some other fund as payment for work done.

The support fund has but one source of direct revenue. The law provides that 2½ per cent of the gross fees, and penalties collected for the registration of motor vehicles in the State shall be set aside as a support fund for the Highway Commission.[105]

[102] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1927, p. 15.

[103] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1927, p. 50; *Code of 1927,* Sec. 4755-b32.

[104] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 34.

[105] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Sec. 34.

The support fund derives considerable indirect revenue from machinery repairs made in the Commission's shop at Ames and from rentals of equipment but this revenue is more than balanced by expenditures in the same line of work.[106] The deficit resulting from this situation is paid from the revenue derived from the State.

The remaining sources of indirect revenue are from miscellaneous sales and refunds such as sales of government war surplus material, instrument rentals, and the sale of maps, road guides, weekly letting reports, and proposal forms.[107]

The purpose of this fund is to provide a separate account of the expenditures of the Commission for its maintenance and to keep the funds that are to be spent on the roads for that purpose alone. The support fund is used to pay salaries, provide heat and light, to purchase office supplies, and to pay all necessary overhead expense in maintaining the Commission.

The Emergency Fund. — A primary road contingent fund of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars is set aside by the State Treasurer from the primary road fund. This fund is used to pay claims upon the primary road fund or upon the maintenance fund for labor, freight, or any other claims which must be promptly paid. It is an emergency fund to be used by the Commission when the delay necessary in the regular system of payment would result in serious difficulties or inconveniences. When the need arises the Commission may direct warrants to be drawn on this fund in payment of the claim. These warrants, when signed by the auditor of the Commission, are

[106] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1927, p. 14, 1929, p. 18.

[107] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1927, p. 15.

paid by the State Treasurer from the contingent fund. Any expenditures from this fund must, however, be paid back to it by warrants issued by the State Auditor, recorded by the Commission, and redeemed by the State Treasurer from the proper fund.[108]

County Bond Issues. — These three funds provide the money for the Commission to use in the construction and maintenance of the primary roads, the support of the Commission and for financial emergencies when they arise. No study of the funds used on the primary roads would be complete, however, without considering county bond issues as a source of money to be used in the improvement of the primary roads. This source becomes of added importance when the law provides as it does in Iowa for the payment of such bonds from the primary road fund when the road programs and the amount of bonds issued are approved by the Highway Commission. That is, if a county has voted or in the future votes to issue bonds to improve the primary roads, the Highway Commission each year must set aside from the primary road fund sufficient money for the proper maintenance of the primary roads and then an amount equal to the interest and principal of the bonds maturing that year. The total amount, however, for maintenance, interest, and payment of bonds can not exceed the amount the county would have received had the primary road fund been allotted among the counties in the ratio that the area of each county bears to the total area of the State.[109]

The above ratio was that used to distribute the primary road funds among the counties prior to the passage of the road control law in 1927 whereby the primary road fund

[108] *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101, Secs. 18-20.

[109] *Code of 1927,* Secs. 4753-a10—4753-a18 and Ch. 242.

was placed at the disposal of the Highway Commission.[110] In effect the bond retirement law secures to the counties voting bonds a continuance of the old system of apportionment of the primary road funds. The law also makes it possible for each county to have its primary roads improved without waiting for the money to be available in the primary road fund and at the same time assures the county that the bonds will be paid when due from the revenues of that fund.

Proposal for State Bonds. — In this connection it should be noted that the Forty-second General Assembly, in special session, passed an act authorizing the State to issue bonds to retire the county bonds issued and to complete the surfacing of the primary roads in a period of six years. On November 6, 1928, the voters of the State, by a vote of two to one, approved the State road bond issue of $100,000,000. On March 5, 1929, however, the Supreme Court of the State held this proposed State road bond act to be unconstitutional and invalid. The General Assembly then in session immediately adopted a resolution which has for its object the amending of the Constitution of the State so as to provide, in the most expeditious manner possible, for the authorization and issuance of $100,000,000 of State road bonds.

The General Assembly also passed an act raising the legal limit of bonded indebtedness of counties for primary road purposes from three per cent to four and one-half per cent of the assessed valuations of the property within the county. This enabled counties that had previously reached the limit of their bonded indebtedness to vote additional bonds. It might be well to state that eighteen counties took advantage of this opportunity and eighteen additional

[110] *Code of 1924,* Sec. 5001; *Laws of Iowa,* 1927, Ch. 101.

counties voted bonds for the improvement of the primary road system, mostly paving. These bond issues made it possible to speed up the paving program that resulted in the completion of 1029.7 miles of paving in 1930.[111]

Expenditures of the Highway Commission. — Some idea of the magnitude of the business handled by the State Highway Commission may be gathered from statistics of expenditures compiled from published reports. Comparisons are somewhat difficult to make, however, for the duties and the funds of the Commission have increased so rapidly that the reports represent different conditions with each biennial fiscal period.

EXPENDITURES OF COMMISSION ON PRIMARY ROADS

YEAR	CONSTRUCTION	MAINTENANCE[112]	ENGINEERING INSPECTION AND ADMINISTRATION	NET COST OF MAINTENANCE OF ORGANIZATION
1919	$ 741,313.73			$120,894.07
1920	4,906,404.96	$ 614,296.71		181,280.77
1921	15,500,523.64	2,264,692.51		131,877.87
1922	13,324,555.14	2,444,664.54		173,041.15
1923	12,662,680.79	2,420,900.25		166,903.29
1924	10,479,315.42	2,722,076.89	$ 746,168.15	231,617.01
1925	6,889,023.72	3,021,003.93	548,890.18	190,414.35
1926	8,402,786.44	3,100,675.07	644,404.85	163,109.83
1927	16,341,641.76	3,743,210.10	1,133,761.09	179,916.60
1928	29,946,607.01	3,809,954.81	1,774,028.74	177,958.68
1929	28,250,410.49	4,621,701.78	1,826,559.72	203,988.05
1930	42,621,993.43	3,311,620.31	2,420,982.21	209,602.02

[111] *Annual Report of the Iowa State Highway Commission,* 1929, p. 3; *Laws of Iowa,* 1929, Chs. 23, 400.

[112] The figure for maintenance in 1920 covers only one-half the year. Primary road funds first became available for the maintenance of the primary road system on July 1, 1920.

The preceding table sets forth the chief items of expenditures on the primary roads of the State through the agency of the State Highway Commission. "Construction" represents all money expended in building the roads including bridges, grading, purchases of rights of way, engineering services, guard rails, and surfacing. "Maintenance" includes snow removal, weed cutting, and repairs, in addition to the maintenance of the road surface. Under the heading, "Engineering, Inspecting and Administration", the reports include every item of engineering and overhead expense incurred by the Commission in connection with the primary roads. Some of this expense is also included under cost of construction and is, therefore, duplication of some of the expense reported under the head of "Construction". "Net Cost of Maintenance of Organization" represents the cost of maintaining the organization. It is evident that certain items might be included under this heading or under "Construction" or "Engineering". It includes invested capital, such as the construction of the Highway Commission's building at Ames.

The table indicates that Iowa, through its Highway Commission, is spending millions of dollars annually on the improvement of its roads. The efficiency of the Commission can be judged only by results. A comparison of this table of expenditures with the preceding table showing the condition of the primary roads for each year of the past ten years will indicate that the results are commensurate with the cost. Iowa, indeed, has concrete proof that the work of the Highway Commission has been successful.

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SOME PUBLICATIONS

Tama Jim. By Earley Vernon Wilcox. Boston : The Stratford Company. 1930. Pp. 196. This is the biography of James Wilson, who was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1835, and came to America when a youth of sixteen. After four years in Connecticut, Wilson moved to a farm near Traer, Tama County, Iowa. The author shows how Tama Jim, brought up in his boyhood on "Psalms and oatmeal", acquired his strong convictions about our "public schools, colleges, railroads and political institutions, what he thought of the politicians of his day, and how he adjusted himself to the rival claims of life, business, religion, farming, politics, science and war." Farmer, teacher, writer, politician, railway economist, legislator, college dean and seer, the crux of the biography centers about Wilson's sixteen years service as Secretary of Agriculture in three presidents' cabinets. We learn not only how the wheels of government went round in his own department but also how we came to retain Guam and the Philippines. Illuminating sidelights are thrown on the characters of the three presidents under whom Tama Jim served and on scores of politicians in the national capital.

Twenty-one scrap books of press clippings, fourteen letter press books of confidential correspondence, sixteen annual reports as Secretary of Agriculture, together with the collaboration of his daughter, Flora H. Wilson and scores of associates, form the basis for this delightful little biography. The frontispiece contains a portrait of James Wilson at the age of seventy. The volume contains no footnotes or formal bibliography but has an index.

John Marsh, Pioneer. By George D. Lyman. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. Pp. 394. Plates. This is the life story of a trail blazer on six frontiers, of which Iowa and the Upper Mississippi Valley form a part. John Marsh was born of a sturdy line of pioneers who came to Salem, Massachusetts, in

1633. After attending school at Danvers and Franklin Academy he succeeded in earning enough money to attend Lancaster Academy. In 1823 he graduated from Harvard. According to the author: "He was the first schoolmaster in Minnesota. He wrote a dictionary and a grammar of the Sioux language. He married a beautiful half-breed . . . . traded furs, ran a store into bankruptcy, and then started on the long trek over the Santa Fé trail to California. Without having studied medicine he acted as a doctor in Los Angeles in 1836 — the first in California. He became a cattle baron, participating in the revolutions which preceded California's entrance into the Union, which he helped to effect. He discovered gold. He was finally murdered, leaving a vast fortune hidden, undiscovered to this day."

To Iowans the chapters dealing with Marsh's activity about Prairie du Chien and Davenport, his friendship with the Sioux and the steps leading to the Black Hawk War are especially interesting. The book is entertainingly written, contains numerous excellent pictures of characters and events, has an exhaustive bibliography and an excellent index. Based on widely scattered sources it is a real contribution to western Americana.

Railways Have Carried Mail Almost a Century, by F. C. Francis, is one of the historical articles in the *Rock Island Magazine* for October, 1930.

American Democracy and the Frontier, by Benjamin F. Wright, Jr., is an article of historical interest in *The Yale Review,* December, 1930.

Peculiarities in the Singing of the American Indians, by Frances Densmore, is one of the papers in the *American Anthropologist* for October-December, 1930.

The United States Department of Agriculture has recently issued *A Bibliography of the History of Agriculture in the United States.* This is published as *Miscellaneous Publication,* No. 84.

Among the articles of interest to Iowans in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* for December, 1930, is an article by William T. Miller on *Nullification in Georgia and South Carolina as Viewed by the New West.*

The *Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* contains two papers — *Anthropological Survey in Alaska,* by Aleš Hrdlička; and *Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri,* by Edwin Thompson Denig, edited by J. N. B. Hewitt, who also contributes a biographical sketch of Mr. Denig.

The American Historical Review for October, 1930, contains the following articles and papers: *Pensylvanie : L'Age d'Or,* by Edith Philips; *A New Madison Manuscript relating to the Federal Convention, 1787,* by Charles Roy Keller and George Wilson Pierson; *Economic Ideas and Facts of the Early Period of the Risorgimento,* by Kent Roberts Greenfield; and *The Rehabilitation of a Rural Commonwealth,* by R. D. W. Connor. Under *Documents* is *Tariff Strategy and Propaganda in the United States, 1887-1888,* contributed by A. T. Volwiler.

Volume V of the *Studies and Records,* published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, contains a number of articles and papers, among which are the following : *Immigrant Women and the American Frontier,* three letters translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen; *From New York to Wisconsin in 1844,* by Johan Gasmann, translated and edited by Carlton C. Qualey; *Social and Economic Aspects of Pioneering as Illustrated in Goodhue County, Minnesota,* by Theodore Nydahl; *Norwegian-American Fiction, 1880-1928,* by Aagot D. Hoidahl; *Bjornson and the Norwegian-Americans, 1880-1881,* by Arthur C. Paulson; *The Beginnings of St. Olaf College,* by I. F. Grose; and *Some Recent Publications Relating to Norwegian-American History,* compiled by Jacob Hodnefield.

WESTERN AMERICANA

"In One Man's Life", the story of Theodore N. Vail, by Hannah Andresen, is one of the historical articles in *The Northwestern Bell,* for December, 1930.

The Political Career of General James H. Lane, by Wendell Holmes Stephenson, has recently been published by the Kansas State Historical Society as Volume III of its *Publications.*

A Half-Century of Rivalry Between Pittsburgh and Wheeling, by F. Frank Crall; *Johnny Appleseed in Pittsburgh,* by E. John Long; and *Problems of Trade in Early Western Pennsylvania,* by Randolph C. Downes, are three of the contributions in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for October, 1930.

Mid-America for October, 1930, contains three articles : *Father Gabriel de la Ribourde,* by Marion A. Habig; *The Early Theatre in the Spanish Borderlands,* by Winifred Johnston; and *Fray Juan de Padilla,* by Paul J. Foik. Under the heading *Documents* is *Father De Smet's Sioux Peace Mission of 1868 and the Journal of Charles Galpin.*

Three Kentucky Pioneers : James, Patrick, and William Brown, by William Allen Pusey; *Silk Culture in Henderson County, Kentucky,* by Spalding Trafton; *The Doctor Ephraim McDowell Memorial in Richmond, Kentucky,* by Mrs. A. T. McCormack; and *The Filson Club,* by Otto A. Rothert, are the articles which make up *The Filson Club Historical Quarterly* for October, 1930.

Pottery Smoothers, by Charles E. Brown; *Indian Implement Manufacture,* by Halvor L. Skavlem; *Some Village and Camp Sites in Northern Michigan,* by Charles E. Brown and M. F. Hulburt; and *Plant Games and Toys of Chippewa Children,* by T. T. Brown, are some of the contributions in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for July, 1930. The September issue contains an article by Charles E. Brown on *Pine, Beaver and North Lakes.*

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for September, 1930, contains a number of papers and articles, among which are the following : *Amos Lane, Advocate of Western Democracy,* by Wendell Holmes Stephenson; *Early Schools of Franklin County, Indiana,* by Michael Bossert; *Colonel John Francis Hamtramck,* by George B. Catlin; and *Records of Old Union Church of North Terre Haute,* edited by Albert A. Orth.

Joseph McMinn, The Man and His Times, by Edwin M. Murphey, Jr.; *Andrew Jackson and the Burr Conspiracy,* by James B. Ranck; *An Ohio Farmer in Middle Tennessee in 1865,* by R. Pierce Beaver; *Tidence Lane, Tennessee's First Pastor,* by Samuel C. Williams; and *Lincoln's Method of Ending the War,* are the articles in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for October, 1930.

The Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1929 contains a number of papers and articles, among which are the following : *Indian Diplomacy During the Revolution in the West,* by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *Historical Values in the Mid-Century Literature of the Middle West,* by Arthur H. Hirsch; *The Lincoln of the Biographers,* by William E. Barton; and *The Stormy Years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the Great Fire,* by George M. Stephenson. This volume is No. 36 in the *Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library.*

Some Early Views of the Campus of the University of Michigan, by Wilfred B. Shaw; *Reminiscences of Detroit,* by James F. Dickie; *A Bit of Naval History on the Great Lakes,* by Richard P. Joy; *Our Public Schools Yesterday and Today,* by J. H. Rockwell; *A Country Graveyard,* by Walter A. Terpenning; *The Pioneer,* by Henry Stimson; and *History of the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs,* by Irma T. Jones, are some of the articles and papers in the 1930 autumn number of the *Michigan History Magazine.*

The July, 1930, issue of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains four articles reprinted from the writings of Joseph Henry Taylor's original *Kaleidoscopic Lives and Sketches of Frontier and Indian Life.* There is also an article by George F. Will on *Arikara Ceremonials,* and some *Civil War Letters — John Adams to Catherine Varner,* both of Iowa. The October issue contains the following articles : *John Jacob Astor and Lord Selkirk,* by Kenneth W. Porter; *Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in North Dakota,* by Carlton C. Qualey; and *The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck,* by George F. Will.

The articles and papers published in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for July, 1930, include the following :

French-Canadian Official Documents, by William Renwick Riddell; *The First British Bishop of Quebec and the Catholics of Kaskaskia,* by William Renwick Riddell; *Mrs. Caroline Phelps' Diary, Lewistown, Illinois, March 2nd, 1830; Hon. Newton Cloud,* by Sara John English; *Civil War Letters of Brigadier-General William Ward Orme; The Early History of the King's Daughters Home for Women, Springfield, Illinois,* by Harriet J. Walker; and an account of the *Dedication of Memorial to Morris Birkbeck at Albion, Edwards County, Illinois.*

The Formation of the Missouri Company, by A. P. Nasatir; *Mark Twain's Artillery, A Mark Twain Legend,* by T. O. Mabbott; *Opening the Santa Fe Trail,* by Isaac Joslin Cox; *The History of Woman Suffrage in Missouri, 1867-1901,* by Monia Cook Morris; *The St. Louis School of Thought,* by Cleon Forbes; a continuation of *Experiences of Lewis Bissell Dougherty on the Oregon Trail,* by Ethel Massie Withers; and the fourth chapter of *Public Opinion and the Inflation Movement in Missouri, 1875-1879,* by J. A. Leach, are articles and papers in *The Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1930.

The December, 1930, number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains five papers and articles — *John Stuart's Indian Policy During the Early Months of the American Revolution,* by Philip M. Hamer; *Louisiana as a Factor in French Diplomacy from 1763 to 1800,* by Mildred Stahl Fletcher; *The United States Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860,* by George D. Harmon; *Hugh McCulloch and the Treasury Department, 1865-1869,* by Herbert S. Schell; and *The Gold-Standard Democrats and the Party Conflict,* by James A. Barnes. Under *Documents* there is *Correspondence of Henry Stuart and Alexander Cameron with the Wataugans,* edited by Philip M. Hamer.

A Quaker Section of the Underground Railroad in Northern Ohio, by Wilbur H. Siebert; *Blast-Furnaces Operated by the Separatist Society of Zoar, Ohio,* by E. J. Bognar; and *Salmon P. Chase and the Election of 1860,* by Donnal V. Smith, are three of the articles which appear in the *Ohio Archaeological and His-*

torical Quarterly for July, 1930. This number also contains the report of the forty-fourth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, held at Columbus on March 29, 1930. An address by Christopher B. Coleman on *Rediscovering the Old Northwest* is included. *An Example of Political Oratory in 1855,* by Mrs. Arthur G. Beach; *Fort Malden Today,* by James A. Green; *Americans Before Columbus,* by Gerard Fowke; *The Negro in Early Ohio,* by Charles Jay Wilson; and *Chase and the Election of 1860,* by Donnal V. Smith, are the articles in the issue for October, 1930.

IOWANA

Mrs. Estelle LePrevost has recently published a *Clinton County History,* written for the children of the county.

Henry Luge, formerly of Alta but now of Cherokee, has published a book entitled *Pioneer Sketches of Northwest Iowa.*

A Semi-Centennial History of the Iowa Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, by A. L. Davidson, has recently been published in the form of a small booklet.

Literary Activities in Early Dubuque (1865-1875), by Edward Heffron, is one of the articles in a recent issue of *The College Spokesman,* a publication of the students of Columbia College at Dubuque.

The Iowa Catholic Historical Review for November, 1930, contains three articles : *The Church in Carroll County,* by James B. Greteman; *The First Native Iowans of the Catholic Priesthood,* by M. M. Hoffmann, and *Sources in Early Iowa Catholic Church History,* by W. G. Kessler.

Buffalo in Iowa, by L. H. Pammel; *Abandoned Towns of Iowa,* by David C. Mott; and *Discovery of William Salter's Almanac–Diary,* by Philip D. Jordan, are the three articles which appear in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1930.

The Iowa State Teachers Association has recently published a

collection of biographical sketches of Iowa authors under the title, *A Book of Iowa Authors By Iowa Authors.* It was edited by Johnson Brigham in coöperation with Charles F. Pye and F. A. Welch. The volume contains the following chapters : "Johnson Brigham", by Forrest B. Spaulding; "Iowa in the Field of English Literature", by Johnson Brigham; "Bess Streeter Aldrich", by Lillian Vitalique Lambert; "Ellis Parker Butler", by Frank Luther Mott; "Samuel H. M. Byers and His Contributions to Civil War Literature", by John T. Frederick; "Arthur Davison Ficke", by L. Worthington Smith; "John Towner Frederick", by Mrs. L. Worthington Smith; "Alice French (Octave Thanet)", by Lydia Margaret Barrette; "Hamlin Garland, Pioneer, Reformer and Teller of Tales", by Johnson Brigham; "Susan Glaspell, Who Follows the Gleam", by Gladys Denny Schultz; "James Norman Hall", by Ruth Augusta Gallaher; "Emerson Hough, Historian of the Unsung", by Chesla C. Sherlock; "Edwin Ford Piper", by Alice C. Weitz; "Herbert Quick, Iowa Acquires a Past", by Donald Murphy; "Irving Berdine Richman, Historian", by Johnson Brigham; "Lewis Worthington Smith, The Man and His Work", by Thomas W. Duncan; "Edward A. Steiner, a Brother of All the World", by James Bellamy Weaver; "Ruth Suckow", by Frank Luther Mott; "Five Interpreters of Iowa", by John T. Frederick; and "Other Writers of Promise and Fulfillment", by Helen Cowles Le Cron. These articles originally appeared as a series in *Midland Schools* during the years 1926 to 1928.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Archer, Clifford P.,

Transfer of Training in Spelling (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. V, No. 5). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Aurner, Clarence R.,

Courses of Study (The Palimpsest, October, 1930).

Many Foundations (The Palimpsest, October, 1930).

Baldwin, Bird Thomas (Joint author),
Farm Children; An Investigation of Rural Child Life in Selected Areas of Iowa. New York : D. Appleton and Company. 1930.

Beebe, Elswyth Thane Ricker,
Bound to Happen. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1930.

Beer, Thomas,
Black Kind (The Saturday Evening Post, October 11, 1930).

Beiswanger, George W.,
The Character Value of the Old Testament Stories (University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. III, No. 3). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Brindley, John E. (Joint author),
The Tax System of Iowa (Agricultural Extension Bulletin No. 150). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Bristol, William F., *Operating Costs of Service Grocery Stores in Iowa for the Year 1927* (Iowa Studies in Business, No. VI). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Brueckner, Leo John,
Diagnostic and Remedial Teaching in Arithmetic. Philadelphia : The John C. Winston Co. 1930.

Butler, Ellis Parker,
Being Happy With Walter (The Saturday Evening Post, October 25, 1930).
Don't Twist the Tail! (The American Magazine, November, 1930).
Financial Structure (The Atlantic Monthly, August, 1930).

Carlson, Gretchen,
Mason City Junior College (The Palimpsest, October, 1930).

Carpenter, Alice Harter,
Hypermetric Lines and Interlinear Hiatus in Latin Hexameter Verse (Philological Quarterly, October, 1930).

Case, Ralph Thomas,

A Study of the Placement in the Curriculum of Selected Teachings of the Old Testament Prophets (University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. II, No. 4). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman,

If Not Prohibition, What? (Woman's Journal, July, 1930).

Clark, Olynthus,

Joseph Joder, Schoolmaster-Farmer and Poet (Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library, No. 36).

Collins, Edgar V. (Joint author),

Harvesting Cornstalks for Industrial Uses (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 274). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Crawford, Nelson Antrim,

Nobility of the Campus (The American Mercury, October, 1930).

Unhappy Wind. New York : Coward-McCann. 1930.

Valley of Decision A Poem for Gilda Gray (The Midland, September-October, 1930).

Crowell, Grace Noll,

Because of Thy Great Bounty (poem) (Good Housekeeping, November, 1930).

Fellowship (poem) (Good Housekeeping, September, 1930).

Daniel, Hawthorne,

The Shadow of the Sword. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Davidson, J. Brownlee (Joint author),

Harvesting Cornstalks for Industrial Uses (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 274). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Engle, Paul,

Hands of a Dead Machinist (poem) (The Midland, September-October, 1930).

To No Dark House (poem) (The Midland, September-October, 1930).

Ficke, Arthur Davison,
Memories of Fourscore Years. Privately printed. 1930.

Field, Mildred Fowler,
Mariner's Sarcophagus (The Midland, November-December, 1930).

Foerster, Norman,
Toward Standards. New York : Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1930.

Gallaher, Ruth A.,
J. N. Ding (The Palimpsest, November, 1930).

Garland, Hamlin,
Books of My Childhood (Saturday Review of Literature, November 15, 1930).

Gates, Robert,
Blind (poem) (The Midland, September-October, 1930).
Gardens (poem) (The Midland, September-October, 1930).

Gerberich, Joseph Raymond,
A Personnel Study of 10,000 Iowa High School Seniors (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. V, No. 3). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Greene, Harry A.,
Work-book in Educational Measurements; Forms A and B. New York : Longmans, Green and Co. 1930.

Griffith, Helen Sherman,
Hail, Virginia! Philadelphia : The Penn Publishing Company. 1930.

Habenicht, Mae,
The Scope of a State Department of Child Welfare (Bulletin of State Institutions, March, 1930).

Haefner, Marie,
From Plastic Clay (The Palimpsest, November, 1930).

Hall, James Norman,
Concerning Trains (Harper's Monthly Magazine, July, 1930).

Halverson, Lynn H.,
The Great Karroo of South Africa (The Journal of Geography, October, 1930).

Hamer, Oliver Stuart,
The Master Farmers of America and Their Education (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. VI, No. 2). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Hartwick, Harry,
Happiness Up the River. (The Best Short Stories of 1930).

Haskell, George Dwight (Joint author),
Questions and Problems in Economics. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Herbst, Josephine,
As a Fair Young Girl (Scribner's Magazine, November, 1930).
Bad Blow (Scribner's Magazine, July, 1930).
Top of the Stairs (The American Mercury, October, 1930).

Hightower, Pleasant Roscoe,
Biblical Information in Relation to Character and Conduct. (University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. III, No. 2). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Hoadley, Ruth L.,
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Holbrook, Christine,
The Charm of the Small Table (Better Homes and Gardens, November, 1930).

French Provincial Is Now in Vogue (Better Homes and Gardens, December, 1930).

A Home With a Livable Atmosphere (Better Homes and Gardens, November, 1930).

Hoover, Herbert Clark,

Mutuality of Interests (American Federationist, November, 1930).

Hopper, Alice E.,

The Child — Iowa's Greatest Asset (Bulletin of State Institutions, March, 1930).

Hunter, Grace,

Black Boy (poem) (The Midland, November-December, 1930).

Mrs. Ezra Jones (poem) (The Midland, November-December, 1930).

Jordan, Carl F.,

Problems in the Control of Undulant Fever (The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society, November, 1930).

Koerth, Wilhelmine (Joint author),

Musical Capacity Measures of Adults Repeated after Music Education (University of Iowa Studies, Series on Aims and Progress of Research, No. 31). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Kresensky, Raymond,

Immortelles (poem) (Christian Century, October 8, 1930).

Poem in Seven Lines (poem) (Christian Century, June 18, 1930).

Towerless Church (poem) (Christian Century, October 1, 1930).

Laird, Donald Anderson,

Getting Full Convenience from Packages and Cartons (Ladies' Home Journal, September, 1930).

Le Cron, Helen Cowles,

Homemaking Study Clubs (Better Homes and Gardens, November, 1930).

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Some Rare Books You May Have Missed (Better Homes and Gardens, November, 1930).

Lockhart, Earl G.,

The Attitudes of Children Toward Law (University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. III, No. 1). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

McCarty, Harold Hull,

Industrial Migration in the United States, 1914-1927 (Iowa Studies in Business, No. 7). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Manufacturing Trends in Iowa (Iowa Studies in Business, No. 8). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

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McElroy, Margaret,

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Fair Comment as Defense to Libel in Illinois (Chicago – Kent Review, February, 1930).

Mannheimer, Eugene,

Thoughts on Some Recent Prison Outbreaks (Bulletin of State Institutions, March, 1930).

Martin, Herbert,

Attraction of Graduate Work in Philosophy. Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Mavity, Nancy Barr,

The Body on the Floor. New York : Grosset and Dunlap. 1930.

The Case of the Missing Sandals. Garden City, New York : Crime Club, Inc. 1930.

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The German Cabinet in Theory and in Practice (Reprinted from The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly, September, 1930).

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An Experimental Study of Iowa Placement Examinations (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. V, No. 6). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Millikan, Robert Andrews,

Remarks on the History of Cosmic Radiation (Science, June 20, 1930).

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A Manual of Experiments; to Accompany "A First Course in Physics for Colleges". New York : The Century Co. 1930.

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Thomas D. Foster A Biography. Privately printed. 1930.

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Abandoned Towns of Iowa (Annals of Iowa, October, 1930).

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Things I Know in Religion. A Preface to Faith. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1930.

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Buffalo in Iowa (Annals of Iowa, October, 1930).

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The Intrigues of Doctor James O'Fallon (Reprinted from The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, September, 1930).

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Financial Management of the Cattle Ranges (Reprinted from the Journal of Economic and Business History, August, 1930).

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George H. Yewell (The Palimpsest, November, 1930).

Petersen, William J.,
Captain Daniel Smith Harris (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October, 1930).

Pierce, Bessie L.,
Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks. Chicago : University of Chicago Press. 1930.

Plum, Mrs. Mary Van Patten,
Cowards All. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1930.

Richardson, Mrs. Anna Steese,
The Bride's Book of Etiquette. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1930.

Richman, Irving B.,
John Mahin, Editor Muscatine Journal, Iowa's Pioneer Foe Against Liquor (The Iowa Publisher, October, 1930).

Seashore, Carl Emil (Joint author),
Euphany (Science, September 26, 1930).

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Their Own Christmas Money to Spend (Better Homes and Gardens, December, 1930).

What's the Matter With Mary Jane? (Better Homes and Gardens, November, 1930).

Shuttleworth, Frank K. (Joint author),

The Wonder Road. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Sigmund, Jay G.,

Ridge Road Wife's Holiday (poem) (The Des Moines Register, November 2, 1930).

The Runaway (The Midland, September-October, 1930).

Smith, Earl B.,

Burning Pulverized Iowa Coal (Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin No. 97). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

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From Footlights to Foothills (comedy). Franklin, Ohio : Farquhar Play Bureau. n. d.

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Stanton, Hazel M. (Joint author),

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Iowa's Permissive County Unit Health Law (The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society, November, 1930).

Tapper, Bonno,

On the Objectivity of Value (Reprinted from the International Journal of Ethics, July, 1930).

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Tippetts, Charles E.,
State Banks and the Federal Reserve System. New York : Van Nostrand Company. 1929.

Tireman, L. S.,
Value of Marking Hard Spots in Spelling (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. V, No. 4). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Treynor, Albert M.,
Hawk of the Desert. New York : Dodd, Mead and Company. 1930.

Ullman, Berthold Louis (Joint author),
Third Latin Book. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1930.

Van Epps, C.,
Narcolepsy and Cataplexy (The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society, October, 1930).

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Lords of the Housetops; Thirteen Cat Tales. New York : Alfred A. Knopf. 1930.

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Larger Units for History Study (The Historical Outlook, December, 1930).
Heave 'er Up, Boys! (The Delineator, October, 1930).
Je t'aime (poem) (Good Housekeeping, October, 1930).

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Iowa Wesleyan College (The Palimpsest, October, 1930).

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A Journey to Spain (The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society, October, 1930).

Woodward, Sherman M.,
Hydraulic Laboratory Research at the State University of Iowa (Reprinted from The Scientific Monthly, October, 1930).

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The Cathedral Organs and Choir (Turixmo, October, 1930).
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Mrs. Ada G. Sherwood came to Iowa in 1842, in the *Mount Vernon Hawkeye Record,* November 20, 1930.

Amity College began in the fifties, by Donald R. Murphy, in the *Clarinda Journal,* November 20, 1930.

List of men who petitioned for incorporation of Story City, in the *Story City Herald,* November 20, 1930.

Indians ceded land many years ago, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News,* November 20, 1930.

F. M. Carpenter has lived in Iowa since 1851, in the *Audubon Advocate-Republican,* November 20, 1930.

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Communia founded as socialist colony in 1845, by Kathleen M. Hempel, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* November 23, 1930.

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H. W. Lathrop recalls early days in Iowa City, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* November 24, 1930.

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Iowa City wanted Iowa Union Railroad, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* November 26, 1930.

J. H. Onstott was Mechanicsville pioneer, in the *Tipton Advertiser,* November 27, 1930.

Provision for public square in New Vienna, in the *Dyersville Commercial,* November 27, 1930.

Charles L. Longley, pioneer Tipton publisher, in the *Tipton Advertiser,* November 27, 1930.

W. H. Wallace recalls old times in southwestern Iowa, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* November 28, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Edward H. Cunningham, in the *Des Moines Register,* November 29, 1930.

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E. A. Shirley recalls when Indians roamed Iowa, in the *Clarinda Herald,* December 3, 1930.

First church in Allamakee County established in 1848, in the *Waukon Democrat,* December 3, 1930.

Spelling matches were popular with the pioneers, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News,* December 4, 1930.

P. L. Fowler came to Clarke County in 1854, in the *Osceola Sentinel,* December 4, 1930.

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Sketch of the life of Augustus C. Bratnober, in the *Waterloo Courier,* December 5, 1930.

President of Transylvania University has descendants living in Iowa, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* December 6, 1930.

First cabin in Butler County built at Shell Rock, in the *Waterloo Courier,* December 6, 1930.

First newspaper in Washington, in the *Washington Journal,* December 6, 1930.

The First Methodist Church of Sioux City, by Waldo Wiese, in the *Sioux City Journal,* December 7, 1930.

Ancient skeletons found near Folsom, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* December 8, 10, 11, the *Atlantic News-Telegraph,* December 9, the *Sidney Argus-Herald,* December 11, and the *Des Moines Register,* December 14, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Robert Lucas, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* December 8, 1930.

O. J. Pruitt finds early civilization in Mills County, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune,* December 8, 1930.

History of Webster City, by Bessie Lyon, in the *Webster City Freeman-Journal,* December 9, 1930.

Sketch of the life of C. E. Wright, in the *Davis County* (Bloomfield) *Republican,* December 9, 1930.

Unknown Indian chief buried in Decorah courthouse square, in the *Waukon Democrat,* December 10, 1930.

Animals and birds of early Iowa, by C. B. Hutchins, in the *Upper Des Moines* (Algona) *Republican,* December 10, 1930.

Eliza Lowe came to Iowa by ox team in 1846, by Mrs. C. E. Lovett, in the *Clayton County* (Elkader) *Register,* December 11, 1930.

Log cabin built in 1837 by Reason Parr, in the *Lowden Post,* December 11, 1930.

How Union was named, in the *Union Star,* December 11, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Arthur H. Mounce, in the *Keosauqua Republican,* December 11, 1930.

J. M. Wahl tells of early Lyon, in the *Rock Rapids Reporter,* December 11, 1930.

Tilmon Harmon lived on corn two months in 1848-1849, in the *Winterset News,* December 11, 1930.

Charles O. Michael was pioneer railroad man, in the *Seymour Herald,* December 11, 1930.

The first steamboat at Sioux City, in the *Sioux City Journal,* December 14, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Byron W. Newberry, in the *Waterloo Tribune,* December 14, 1930.

Willson Alexander Scott, Des Moines' first citizen, buried on Capitol Hill, by Donald Grant, in the *Des Moines Register,* December 15, 1930.

Report on Broken Kettle Mound, by C. B. Knowles, in the *Le Mars Post,* December 15, 1930.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Board of Public Printing of Indiana has issued an illustrated volume giving information concerning the government and institutions of the State and something of their history.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its autumn meeting at the Hotel Olds in Lansing on October 18, 1930. E. R. Boak spoke on "Recent Discoveries in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia", and Lew Allen Chase spoke on "Foundation Work in History". Claude S. Larzelere presided.

The State of Ohio has dedicated as a State park the site of the battle at Piqua, in October, 1830. The ceremony was held on October 9-11, 1930. At the memorial conference at Wittenberg College, the program included the following papers : "The Ohio Indians During the Revolution", by H. C. Shetrone; "The Ohio Campaigns of 1782", by Milo M. Quaife; "The Correlation of State and National History", by Asa E. Martin; "The Battle of Piqua", by Orton Rust; and "George Rogers Clark and Significant Events in the History of the Northwest", by James A. James.

On December 11, 1930, the Indiana Historical Society celebrated the centennial of the meeting in which it was organized — December 11, 1830. This was followed by the Twelfth Annual Indiana History Conference on December 12th and 13th. Evarts B. Greene, president of the American Historical Association, was the guest of honor of the occasion and spoke on "Our Pioneer Historical Societies". James A. Woodburn read a paper on "Indiana and Her History", and William Dudley Foulke delivered the centennial oration. Representatives of the historical societies of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky attended the celebration and meeting.

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the American Historical

Association was held at Boston, Massachusetts, on December 29, 30, and 31, 1930. Meeting with it at the same place and time were the following societies : the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the American Catholic Historical Association, the National Conference for Social Studies, and the American Society of Church History. A dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was a feature of the first day. Two of the sessions of special interest to students of Middle West history were the joint meetings with the Agricultural History Society on the morning of December 30th and the meeting with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on the 31st. The papers listed for these sessions included the following : "Marshall P. Wilder, Patron of Agriculture", by Herbert A. Kellar; "Cyrus Hall McCormick", by W. T. Hutchinson; "Gerrit Smith Miller, a Pioneer in the Cattle and Dairy Industry", by W. F. Galpin; "The Discovery of Gold in the Pike's Peak Region, 1857-1858", by R. P. Bieber; "Middle-of-the Road Populists", by J. D. Hicks; and "Donelson Caffery — a Louisiana Freelance", by E. M. Violette.

IOWA

The Business and Professional Women's Club of Fort Dodge is planning to establish a historical museum in the public library.

The Marshall County Historical Society had a dinner at Binford House, Marshalltown, on November 5, 1930. President F. G. Pierce gave a short talk and conducted a business session.

President Emeritus H. K. Warren of Yankton College gave an interesting talk at the meeting of the Howard County Historical Society at Cresco on November 9, 1930. Mrs. C. E. Farnsworth read a paper on Iowa history, written by Roger Leavitt of Cedar Falls.

The Iowa Catholic Historical Society met at Sioux City on September 18, 1930, for the purpose of organizing the diocesan branch in that section. M. M. Hoffmann and William Kessler,

both of Dubuque, and C. F. Griffith of Davenport read papers at the meeting.

The Norwegian-American Historical Association met at Decorah, Iowa, on September 22, 1930. Magnus Swenson of Madison, Wisconsin, was elected president. Among the speakers were President Olson, and Dr. Knut Gjerset of Luther College, O. E. Rolvaag of St. Olaf College, Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society, D. G. Ristad, former president of the society, Sigurd J. Arneson, publisher of the *Nordisk Tidende,* Barthinius L. Wick of Cedar Rapids, J. Jorgan Thompson of Northfield, Minnesota, and Birger Osland of Chicago.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

At the September meeting of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa the following officers were elected : Mr. S. A. Swisher, president, and Mr. J. A. Parden, treasurer.

Mr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, spoke to the Rotary Club of Iowa City, on December 4, 1930. His subject was "Early Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi".

Dr. Charles Reuben Keyes, director of the State Archaeological Survey and Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa, recently visited a number of Indian village sites in southwestern Iowa. Among other things he located some veins of flint in the limestone quarries at Stennett from which the Indians may have made arrow heads.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society : Miss Tolosa Cooke, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Emma Clark Harrison, Buffalo, Iowa; Mrs. Martha L. Perry, Decorah, Iowa; Mrs. Wilma Slininger, Jefferson, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Wiese, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. L. R. Burton, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Clark H. Galloway, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Miss Lulu M. Johnson, Talladega, Alabama; Dr. Harry C. Parsons, Iowa City, Iowa; Dr. Harold Plotts, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Harold B.

Schultz, Ames, Iowa; Mrs. E. M. Vernon, Corning, Iowa; Dr. Karl R. Werndorff, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mr. Paul T. Beardsley, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Harry M. Greene, Avoca, Iowa; Rt. Rev. Edmond Heelan, Sioux City, Iowa; Mrs. S. A. Lorenz, Bloomfield, Iowa; and Mr. W. H. Reever, Glidden, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Alumni Association of Albion Seminary erected a three ton boulder on the site of this old school in Marshall County.

The First Congregational Church of Elkader celebrated its Diamond Jubilee on October 19, 1930. A short history of the church was prepared by Mrs. E. M. Paul.

The Winneshiek County State Bank celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in November, 1930. The founder was Horace Spangler Weiser, whose son and grandson now operate the bank.

The American Legion Auxiliary erected a boulder in Elm Grove Cemetery in Washington on September 15, 1930, to perpetuate the memory of Washington County's World War dead.

Boone County citizens have petitioned the board of supervisors to rename the Coal Valley highway in honor of Kate Shelley who in 1881 saved a fast Northwestern train from dropping into the Des Moines River.

The Hannah Caldwell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a boulder at Buffalo on October 2, 1930, to Captain Benjamin W. Clark and his son, Warner L. Clark. Harry E. Downer delivered the principal address.

The James Harlan and John See Chapters of the D. A. R. plan to erect an old stone burr on the site of the old flour mill which stood on the north bank of the Skunk River at Lowell. The corn and saw mill on the south bank will be included on the marker.

The fortieth reunion of the Third Iowa Cavalry was held on October 1 and 2, 1930, at the Legion Hall in Bloomfield. A dinner was served by the Woman's Relief Corps. Professor H. C. Brown presided at the meeting. Hon. Leonard Simmer gave an address in the evening.

A boulder, bearing a bronze plate, dedicated to the James C. Taylor Post of the G. A. R. and all Civil War veterans, was erected in the courthouse square at Algona, on September 21, 1930, by the Woman's Relief Corps. The monument was presented by Mrs. Agnes Marty and accepted by D. A. Haggard, only surviving member of the Post. Congressman L. J. Dickinson gave an address following the dedication.

The Old Settlers Association of Mahaska County held its annual meeting at Oskaloosa on September 17, 1930. John W. Potter gave the principal address. L. T. Shangle spoke in the afternoon on the subject "The Early Mahaska Bar" and J. W. Johnson talked on "There were Giants in Those Days". The following officers were elected : G. W. Shockley, president; Mrs. W. A. Stephenson, vice president; and A. R. Hellings, secretary-treasurer.

At a meeting of the old settlers held at Salem on August 30, 1930, a bronze marker set in a boulder was dedicated to the pioneers. W. H. Upton gave an address on "The Home Builder" and the dedication address was given by R. L. Brown. A number of pioneers gave reminiscences and Mrs. Bell K. Harthey read a paper entitled "A Little Bit of Salem". Thirty-five members of the association died during the preceding year.

CONTRIBUTORS

Louis Pelzer, Professor of History at the State University of Iowa. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1913, p. 142).

Edward Maxwell Benton. Born at Fairview, Kansas, on July 17, 1907. Graduated from Topeka, Kansas, High School in 1925. Received the B. A. degree from Washburn College in 1929, and the M. A. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1930. Graduate Assistant at the State University of Iowa, 1930-1931.

Samuel C. E. Powers. Born at Kellogg, Iowa, on December 23, 1893. Educated in the Kellogg public schools, graduating from the Kellogg High School in 1912. Superintendent of Schools at Mt. Auburn, Ledyard, and Keswick, Iowa. Received the B. A. degree from Iowa State Teachers College in 1923, and the M. A. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1928. Graduate Assistant at the State University of Iowa, 1930-1931.

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IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
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THE ANGLO-SPANISH FRONTIER ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI[1] 1786-1796

The Mississippi River was an international boundary from the Treaty of Paris in 1763 down to 1803. By that agreement Spain reluctantly accepted the Mississippi as the eastern frontier of her huge empire in North America, while Great Britain, having expelled the French from the continent of North America, became the proud possessor of the territory lying between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, with the single exception of the Isle of Orleans. The restless Anglo-Saxon frontiersmen, however, could not be restrained from moving on; these daring pioneers, typified by Daniel Boone, needed wide elbow room. They were lured to the west by the irrepressible desire for land. The hardy Scotchmen and the French-Canadians, shielded by the Union Jack, also perceived untold profit in the fur trade with the Indians. In carrying out his ambitions, the Anglo-Saxon could not be stopped by such "scraps of paper" as prescribed the limits of national territory.

The Spaniards were no less eager to gain trade. They

[1] This is but a part of the larger theme, "The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Upper Mississippi and Missouri Valleys", upon which the writer is engaged. Several parts of the projected study have already appeared in print: *Jacques D'Eglise on the Upper Missouri 1791-1795* and *Spanish Exploration of the Upper Missouri*, both appearing in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June, 1927; *Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri* in *The Missouri Historical Review*, October, 1929, January, and April, 1930; *An Account of Spanish Louisiana, 1785*, in *The Missouri Historical Review*, July, 1930; *The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783*, in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, October, 1928; *The Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1929, March, 1930; *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country 1797-1798* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1930.

were jealous of the British who were harvesting wealth in territory which belonged to His Catholic Majesty. In their efforts to keep this territory to themselves, the Spanish attempted to confine the activities of the British traders to the territory east of the Mississippi. Although they failed to accomplish this purpose in its entirety, they continued their efforts until late in the eighteenth century. It is to relate the story of this struggle — the Anglo-Spanish frontier in the Upper Mississippi Valley in the last period of Spanish rule in the Louisianas — that this paper was written.

North of the Arkansas River and west of the Mississippi lay the territory known to the Spaniards as the Spanish Illinois. The capital of this area was St. Louis, founded in 1764 through the efforts of Pierre Laclède Liguest and Auguste Chouteau. Located on the west bank of the "Father of Waters", just south of its confluence with the Missouri, St. Louis was strategically situated. Protected on the east and on the north by the waters of the two rivers, the capital of the Spanish Illinois faced the territory of the British. Here congregated the traders, often French or Canadian by birth and upbringing, but Spanish in their allegiance. From St. Louis subjects of His Catholic Majesty spread up and down nearly every river whose waters emptied into the Mississippi.

Far up the Missouri, the Kansas, the Osage, and the Platte, went the Spaniards in quest of furs. In the waters of the Upper Mississippi, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Wisconsin, and other rivers flowing into the "Father of Waters" from the east, Spanish canoes dipped their paddles. From the regions of St. Joseph, Maumee, the Wabash posts, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana, the Indians brought their furs to St. Louis, then as now one of the greatest fur trading centers in the world.

Five hundred miles above the mouth of the Missouri, at the junction of the swift Wisconsin and the Mississippi, at an equally strategic point, was quaint old Prairie du Chien. Guarded on the west by the Mississippi and on the south by the waters of the Wisconsin, Prairie du Chien looked with a covetous eye upon the rich fur lands across the Mississippi. It was a convenient meeting place for the Indians and traders operating in the Upper Mississippi Valley, and it was a taking-off point for the traders and voyageurs who invaded the Spanish territory lying but a mile to the westward.

From Prairie du Chien traders ascended the Mississippi and St. Peter's rivers to the rich fur areas of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the far northwest, where they trapped for furs and traded with the Indians, in violation of international and Spanish law, unmolested by Spanish officials, and encouraged by the British. From Prairie du Chien, British subjects crossed directly into the Iowa country *via* the Turkey, the Iowa, and the Des Moines rivers.

Of little importance to us here is the technical change of jurisdiction of the territory east of the Mississippi occasioned by the Treaty of 1783 which ended the American Revolution. In spite of that treaty, British control of the territory about Prairie du Chien did not materially decline until after 1804. With the Americans, this paper will have little to do. They were occupied with affairs in the territory now comprised in the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. They were so busy counteracting Spanish, French, and British intrigues in the Northwest, in the Southeast, and in the Southwest that they could not effectively meet all at once; and it was not until the turn of the century that the United States, taking advantage of Europe's distress, gained its complete independence.

Spain, it will be recalled, had agreed rather reluctantly

to take over the administration of the trans-Mississippi west in 1762, but the fear of the British and the necessity for defending its northernmost provinces in the western hemisphere soon prompted Spain to occupy Louisiana effectively. To prevent the British traders from entering the newly acquired Spanish territory, Francisco Rui was sent to construct a fort at the confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi; and a lieutenant governor was appointed, with headquarters at the recently established village of St. Louis, to administer the vast Upper Mississippi-Missouri Valley.

Spain also adopted a vigorous Indian policy, which embodied many of the French ideas. It was the aim of the Spanish to win and maintain the numerous Indian tribes of Louisiana, to keep those tribes hostile to all foreigners — especially the British — to control the Indians, and, through a well regulated trade, to keep them in a peaceful state of mind. Liberal annual gifts were distributed to friendly tribes in the name of the king, and the tribesmen were provisioned by regularly licensed traders to whom the natives could sell their furs and surplus crops. Traders were governmental agents as well as private business men, for they were allowed to enter the trade only under definite governmental instructions which were intended to promote the best interests of Spain. Foreigners were expelled from the Spanish Indian country, and intoxicating liquors were not permitted to be given or sold to the natives.

The Spaniards often dispatched ambassadors or special agents to the various tribes, and encouraged native embassies to visit the Spanish posts. They used friendly tribes as intermediaries with the hostile ones. They induced friendly tribes to stop trading with the British, and encouraged them to pillage the British traders. They persuaded Indians residing east of the Mississippi to cross

the river and become Spanish subjects. Through flattery and the liberal distribution of medals and flags among the Indian chiefs, the attachment of those tribes to the Spanish cause was kept alive. Finally, in her desperate attempt to keep out British traders and adventurers by force, Spain increased her Mississippi and Missouri posts in number and strength, and began policing the Mississippi River.

Great Britain did not remain idle. Handicapped at first by the hostility of the Indians still under French influence, and prevented from taking possession of the fruits of her victory over the French by the great Indian uprising known as Pontiac's Conspiracy, England was able, nevertheless, within the space of a few years to make up for her losses; and Spain and England embarked in a struggle for the economic control of the Upper Mississippi Valley.

England had certain obvious advantages — a superior organization of trade, which was under much less governmental restraint than that of her rival across the Mississippi; a group of more aggressive, efficient, and clever traders, trappers, and voyageurs; greater governmental protection and encouragement; a larger and better assortment of merchandise; a more adequate supply of money; and a better market for the furs. With these advantages her traders from Montreal and Michilimackinac were able not only to cope with their Spanish rivals, but to win away from them a large part of the trade and friendship of the Indian tribes.

Spain's early fight for the political and economic control of the Indians centered within the area covered by a circle drawn around St. Louis as a center on a radius of about 300 miles. By 1777 Spain was dispensing presents to the tribes residing as far up the Missouri River as the Pawnee and Omaha. The Ioways, Sacs, Foxes, and Sioux, living on the Mississippi (the last named being some 230 leagues

from St. Louis), were receiving presents from the Spaniards, although Spain did not profit from the trade of the Ioways or the Sioux because of the activity of the British. To counteract this, Spain boasted of drawing the Folles Avoines [Menominees], Sacs, Foxes, Puans [Winnebagoes], Mascoutens, Kickapoos, Potawatomies, Sauteux [Chippewas], Peorias, and Kaskaskias — all residing within the confines of British jurisdiction — to St. Louis to receive presents.[2]

Great Britain countered with attempts to stop the Spaniards from entering her territory and trading with the Indians residing under her jurisdiction. The British frontier officials were warned again and again that the Spaniards were tampering with the Indians. But in the Iowa-Minnesota region, British traders held free sway. They entered the country without molestation, and, through trade, flattery, and gifts, succeeded in winning the allegiance to Great Britain of the Ioway, Sioux, Chippewa, and other tribes.

Jonathan Carver, in 1766,[3] and Peter Pond, in 1773,[4] entered Spanish territory from the region about Prairie du Chien. Jean Marie Ducharme[5] invaded the Missouri country and succeeded in trading with the Little Osages. Between April 13 and June 4, 1778, at least twelve persons

[2] Report on Indian tribes receiving presents at St. Louis, November 15, 1777, in the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2358, hereafter cited as Papeles de Cuba, translated in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. I, pp. 141-148; and the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 358-368.

[3] Carver's *Travels Throughout the Interior Parts of North America* (London, 1778), pp. 49-51, 93.

[4] Pond's *Journal* in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 314-354.

[5] See Nasatir's *Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri* in *The Missouri Historical Review,* Vol. XXIV, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

or firms received British licenses to trade in the Illinois country, on the Mississippi River, and from Prairie du Chien.[6]

Complaints and counter-complaints were made by the officials of both Spanish Louisiana and Canada. Both governments agreed to prohibit their respective subjects from entering the territory of the other government, but these "political bickerings" were of no avail. Spaniards invaded British territory and British officials complained; and conversely, British traders invaded Spanish territory and Spanish officials complained.

During the American Revolution, Spain aided the "rebels" and succeeded in gaining a stronger hold on the trade of the Upper Valley. But this advantage, occasioned by England's distress, was short-lived. England had a firm hold on the Indians of the Northwest. When Spain entered the war in 1779, England, being prepared and working with lightning speed, swooped down upon the Spaniards in the Spanish Illinois. The Spaniards retaliated by attacking and capturing St. Joseph, holding it for twenty-four hours. They also coöperated with Americans in an attack on Rock River. Spanish military forces were engaged in the war on the high seas and in the Caribbean area. The energetic Governor of Spanish Louisiana, Bernardo de Galvez, succeeded in capturing the Floridas from England.

Spain, however, was working at a disadvantage: time favored the British. Galvez could not afford the money, attention, men, or supplies necessary to really win for Spain the upper part of the Mississippi Valley. Supplies became scarce in St. Louis. The Indians were not given their annual presents. Traders could not provide the tribes with

[6] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XI, p. 99.

the necessities of life. Moreover, most of the traders of the Spanish Illinois were enlisted in the militia and were kept in readiness in case of another attack by the British from Canada.

Spain did not allow foreigners to import goods, nor her own subjects to bring foreign merchandise into Spanish territory; but on the other hand she did not see that necessary supplies were sent to the posts of the Upper Valley.

Failing to obtain supplies from the Spaniards, the Indians turned to the British; and English traders were able to win over to British allegiance and trade the Indian tribes of the entire Upper Mississippi Valley. The indirect result of the American Revolution in the "Upper Far West" was, therefore, that the Spaniards lost the trade with the natives of the Upper Valley and their prestige among these tribes.[7]

Not only did the Indians obtain supplies from the British, but Spanish subjects did the same. There are many examples that could be cited to prove this, but we shall mention only one or two. In 1786, the Mackinac Company established a large store at Cahokia, planning to supply the Spanish trade and especially the Missouri River trade. This idea had been entertained by the British merchants even before the peace of 1783 had been signed[8] and Auguste Chouteau had purchased goods from M. Marchesseau in the winter of 1783.[9]

[7] This story is fully related in Nasatir's *The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783,* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* October, 1928.

[8] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 439, 440.

[9] Jean Baptiste Perrault's *Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyageur in the Savage Territories of North America,* edited by John S. Fox, in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 515, 516.

Writing in 1790, Governor Arthur St. Clair said that a great portion of the merchandise for the trade of the Missouri River came from Michilimackinac *via* the Illinois. Part of the merchandise was brought by Spanish and part

Seizures by both the Spaniards and the British were common at the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. On the Mississippi, the struggle was, to a limited extent, a traders' war. Two British traders were captured by the Spanish on the Des Moines River and a Spanish trader, Lucas David by name, was killed while operating in the same area. In April, 1780, Indians, incited and aided by the English, captured a barge loaded with goods, which Charles Gratiot had dispatched from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien for purposes of trade at the mouth of the Turkey River. Indians, under British leadership, also slew several Americans and Spaniards at the mines at about the same time. George Rogers Clark was advised that the British from Michilimackinac, established on the Des Moines River, were stirring up the savages against the Americans. Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair promised that any trader who would capture the posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi would get the exclusive trading privileges there.[10]

With tact, careful conservation of their resources, and the liberal use of "fire water", the British — and especially the canny, resourceful Scotchmen — carried on a heavy traffic with the Indians, and this despite Spanish garrisons which were placed in the Mississippi-Illinois region. After 1783, and more especially after its reorganization in 1787,

by British traders who transported the goods from Michilimackinac to Cahokia. From Cahokia they afterwards transported the goods to St. Louis, as opportunity was found. These goods were usually paid for in furs which were carried back to Canada *via* the Illinois River, Chicago, and Lake Michigan. — Smith's *St. Clair Papers,* Vol. II, p. 174.

[10] *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XI, pp. 151, 152, Vol. XVIII, pp. 405, 406; Scharf's *History of St. Louis City and County,* Vol. I, pp. 206 ff.; Billon's *Annals of St. Louis in its Early Days under the French and Spanish Dominations*; Nasatir's *The Anglo-Spanish Frontier in the Illinois Country during the American Revolution, 1779-1783,* in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* October, 1928.

the newly formed North West Company aided the British materially in the development and extension of the trade with the Indians living west of the Mississippi River and in the northwest.[11]

Spanish traders attempted to secure goods for the Indians by carrying on an illicit commerce with the British and American merchants who opened stores in the American Illinois for that purpose. Spain lacked the capital and the efficient organization of the British traders. She lacked also an adequate market, and even forced the merchants from Upper Louisiana to pay duties when transporting their furs to the Spanish mart at New Orleans. By the opening of the last decade of the eighteenth century, the British were winning the Indian trade of the Upper Missouri River region as well.

By 1786 British competition had reached such proportions that Martin Navarro, the Intendant of Louisiana, declared: "The commerce with the Illinois is the easiest, and yet it is of very little importance, because the English, who are in possession of Michilimackinac, three hundred leagues above, introduce themselves with the greatest facility into our possessions, and seize on the richest portion of the trade by forestalling the peltries of the finer quality. We are compelled to be mere lookers-on, when others do what we ought to do ourselves, and we have to undergo the vexation of seeing the trade which ought to come down the Mississippi, elude our grasp and take the St. Lawrence for its channel. They have also possessed themselves of the trade with all the nations of the river *Aux Moines* [Des Moines River], which is eighty leagues above St. Louis, and within the jurisdiction and dependence of the [Span-

[11] The best work on the North West Company is Gordon C. Davidson's *The North West Company* (Berkeley, 1918). See also Wayne E. Stevens's *The North West Fur Trade* (Urbana, 1928).

ish] Illinois district. There beavers and otters are to be found in the greatest abundance''.[12]

Navarro suggested remedies for these evils which, he believed, if adopted, would "cause to fall into Spanish hands the manna offered by the trade with the Indians, which is a casket of wealth, of which others have the use, although we hold its key. The treasures of that mine would then find their way into the coffers of our nations, and our enemies would not wrest from us the bread which should give us sustenance (*el pan que ha de servir a sustentarnos*), and forty thousand dollars a year would be sufficient to supply all the wants of that trade.''[13]

To aid Spain in this Indian trade, Governor Estevan Miró recommended that the trade be opened to all Spanish subjects. It was necessary, he pointed out, that there be a plentiful supply of Indian traders with adequate amounts of merchandise in the Indian villages at all times in order that the Indian should know no other traders than Spaniards.[14] The goods must be sold at equitable prices and no monopolies should be granted.

[12] Stevens's *The North West Fur Trade,* pp. 104, 105. In 1784, François de Marbois, the French *chargé-d'affaires* in the United States, stated that for the years preceding the American Revolution the Spaniards had given the British authorities in the Illinois country much concern, but since the American Revolution, they were on the defensive. Marbois's *Mémoire* is printed in *The American Historical Review,* Vol. XXIX, pp. 727-740.

[13] Gayarré's *History of Louisiana,* Vol. III, pp. 176, 177; Lippincott's *A Century and a Half of Fur Trade in St. Louis* in the *Washington University* (St. Louis) *Studies,* Humanistic Series, Vol. III, p. 218. The material contained in the quotations from Gayarré is, according to the author, taken from the reports of Governor Miro and Intendant Navarro. The information contained in those reports is contained in a letter from [Miro?] to the Marquis de Sonora, New Orleans, April 15, 1786, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2360.

[14] The English traders, however, were rejoicing in the fact that although the Spaniards were attempting to attach the Sac Indians to their interests "the superiority of the Canadian traders hath hitherto prevented it''.— Nasatir's *Indian Trade and Diplomacy in the Spanish Illinois, 1763-1792* (manuscript thesis in the University of California Library).

In spite of English rivalry, however, Spanish traders were active among the Indians. One of the Chouteaus, Gabriel Cerré, and possibly Lajoye were operating among the Kansas and Maha Indians and also on the Des Moines River.[15] Francisco Cruzat, the Lieutenant Governor, was keeping an ever-watchful eye upon the Indians residing in the American Illinois country. Their hostility to the Americans was well known and Cruzat attributed the cause of that hostility to the English at Michilimackinac. As a result of Cruzat's careful tactics in his relations with those Indians, many of the natives removed to the Spanish side of the Mississippi River, where their trade was, of course, more easily secured.[16]

Cruzat, although handicapped by a lack of means in his attempt to counteract British activity in the Indian trade of the Upper Mississippi Valley, was, in some ways, markedly successful. He succeeded in retaining the allegiance of several tribes residing east of the Mississippi, even after the close of the Revolutionary War. Indeed, in 1786, several Indian chiefs, Heturno and Naquiguen in particular, urged the Spanish *comandante* to make an expedition against the British at St. Joseph, in order to teach them a lesson for attempting to incite the Indians of their district to aid them in a projected attack upon the Spanish Illinois. Cruzat, however, advised the Spaniards not to accede to

[15] Letter from De Volsey to the Governor, St. Louis, July 18, 1786, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2370 (partly illegible); letter from Cruzat to Miró, [St. Louis?, 1786?], in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 12. The letter from Cruzat is undated and without the name of the place.

[16] Letter from Cruzat to Miró, No. 68, St. Louis, July 19, 1786, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library of the University of California; letter from Cruzat to Miró, No. 74, St. Louis, August 23, 1786, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library of the University of California; letter from Cruzat to Miró, No. 81, St. Louis, November 30, 1786, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 12. At a later time many transferred to the Cape Girardeau district, influenced to do so by Lorimier.

the Indians' request. He was content to maintain their friendship and have them war against the enemies of His Catholic Majesty.[17]

To English activity among the Indians was attributed the damage inflicted upon the Spanish settlers on the outskirts of St. Louis. Rumors were widespread that the Indians, instigated by the British, were planning to attack the Spanish Illinois, to enable the British to extend their trading operations to include the Valley of the Missouri. So alarmed did the Spaniards become that the inhabitants residing in the small towns on the outskirts of St. Louis came into the city for safety. Especially was this true of the settlers at St. Ferdinand de Florrissant. Lieutenant Governor Manuel Perez ordered patrols to scour the country for traces of hostile Indians. Indians came to St. Louis and confirmed the rumors that the British were circulating "collars" among the red men to incite them against the Spanish across the river. The designs of the British were thwarted, however, due to the remnant of Spanish influence among a number of the tribes living along the Mississippi River.[18]

Perez was a good administrator, kept his "ears to the ground", and reported in full any and all rumors of British activity among the Indians. Reporting on November 9, 1788, Perez told the Governor General that the British "after some time" had succeeded, by making use of savages of the Mississippi, in sending merchandise to the Missouri "where they go to trade", for the furs of that region were of the finest and richest quality. Indeed, the Osage Indians were now being supplied by the British. Perez was obliged

[17] Letter from Cruzat to Bernardo de Galvez, St. Louis, January 10, 1787, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

[18] Letter from Perez to Miro, No. 30, St. Louis, August 9, 1788, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2361.

to resort to subterfuges which met with marked success, considering the circumstances.[19]

Perez was faced with two serious problems: stopping the increasing incursions by the British and Americans into territory under Spanish jurisdiction; and placing the Spanish Illinois in a better state of defense — a problem in reality only a corollary of the first one mentioned. In addition he had to keep the Osage Indians quiet, a ubiquitous problem which was not effectively solved (if it ever was) until Auguste and Pierre Chouteau constructed and maintained a fort among them in 1794.

During the administration of Manuel Perez two large incursions were made into the Spanish Illinois country. One was by Americans at "L'Anse à la Graise" and resulted in the establishment of New Madrid in 1789. The other — and for our purposes the one of real importance — was the British expedition from the north. There were others by Americans, British, and Canadians in the regions of the White, Ouachita, and other rivers to the south of St. Louis.

In the face of these incursions, and for fear of an attack upon the Spanish Illinois, on the one hand by the British, and on the other by the Americans, Perez, as early as 1788, gave an account of the worthlessness of the fortifications of St. Louis. He urged the construction of stone bastions to replace the old wooden ones. He also advised the filling in of the gaps in the St. Louis militia, which for a long time had been on part strength. Governor General Miro approved these suggestions and ordered them to be carried out at once.[20]

[19] Letter from Perez to Miró, No. 56, St. Louis, November 19, 1788, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2367.

[20] Letter from Perez to Miró, No. 83, St. Louis, December 2, 1788, and Miró's reply. — Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 271-273.

The closing years of the régime of Perez marked a decline in Spanish control of the territory. The British had reorganized their North West Company in 1787, and continued to trade in territory legally American under the treaty of 1783. From the rendezvous at Michilimackinac, they traded along the Mississippi, Iowa, and Minnesota rivers, with Indians and with Spaniards from St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve.[21] The Spaniards, however, continued to control the Mississippi River trade, at least to the south. To prevent further incursions from the north, they tried to incite the Sac Indians against American traders. Governor Arthur St. Clair reported that trade possibilities in the Spanish territory were good on the whole. There were certain risks — many assumed by Spanish traders also — but the trade, illicit as it was, had many advantages for Americans.[22]

A copy of this map is in the Bancroft Library. See also letter from Perez to Miro, No. 33, St. Louis, August 16, 1788, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 14.

[21] See in this connection St. Clair's remarks in 1790, note 9 above.

[22] Concerning the points contained in this paragraph see the following: Stevens's *The Fur Trade of Minnesota* in *Minnesota History Bulletin,* Vol. V, pp. 7, 8; *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* Vol. XII, pp. 84 ff; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* Vol. XI, pp. 499-620, Vol. XXIV, *passim, e.g.* 108, 158, 159; *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1890, pp. 161 *et. seq.*; Alvord's *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790* (*Illinois Historical Collections,* Vol. V), *passim, e.g.* 410, 411, 508, 509, 514-517, Ch. XIV *passim*; letter from Perez to Miro, St. Louis, December 1, 1788, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2361 (copy from a copy is in Bancroft Library); Smith's *St. Clair Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 174, 175; Stoddard's *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana,* pp. 297, 298; letter from Perez to Miro, No. 180, St. Louis, April 5, 1791, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1442 (certified copy signed by Miro, original in the Bancroft Library); and Miró's *Report on Political Conditions of Louisiana,* dated Madrid, August 7, 1792, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, estante 86, cajon 7, legajo 25. A copy and translation are to be found among the Houck manuscripts in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis). See also Houck's *History of Missouri,* Vol. I, p. 314; Robertson's *Louisiana under Spain, France and the United States,* Vol. I, pp. 298, 299, 335-337; Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. I, pp. 342-344, Vol. II, pp. 44, 45, 50, 51, 369-372. A full account with abundant

After 1788, and particularly in and after 1791, the lieutenant governors of the Spanish Illinois advised their superiors that the only way to stop the incursion of the British into the trans-Mississippi country was to construct forts at the mouth of the Des Moines River, the entrance into the Iowa and Missouri-Platte River area, and at the mouth of the St. Peter's River, the gateway to the rich fur area of the Minnesota country. Perez warned Miro that the English were swarming in those regions and were even trading with the Maha and Pawnee tribes located on the Missouri and Platte rivers. He wrote:

I must not fail to inform you that it is time and more than time to prevent the introduction of the English into the Missouri and to accomplish this, I find no other way but to construct a fort at the mouth of the Moins [Des Moines], and another at the mouth of the San Pedro [Minnesota River], to take all possible precaution to oppose their introduction.

By use of these rivers which are very favorable to their purposes, without which it appears to me that soon we shall be able to renounce within a short time the Missouri and out of this will follow disorders on the frontiers of Mexico whither all our neighbors are continually desiring to go with hopes of acquiring riches.

It is evident that the English and especially the Americans speak of nothing else than the Kingdom of Mexico and strive to see it and to find a way that will give them some loophole for approaching it.

Their introduction into the Missouri would make it easy for them and once they succeed in finding it, there is the risk that they will never cease following it because of the great zeal they have for this special desire.[23]

references can be found in Nasatir's *Indian Trade and Diplomacy in the Spanish Illinois, 1763-1792* (manuscript thesis in University of California Library), pp. 333-349.

[23] Letter from Perez to Miro, No. 180, St. Louis, April 5, 1791, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library. Letters written in Spanish have been translated into English.

Indeed, shortly after 1790, Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish, representing the principal British houses carrying on trade in the Northwest and Canada, reported that most of the posts where the traders winter were within the limits claimed by the Americans, while several of the trading places on the Mississippi were on the Spanish side.[24] Captain William Doyle, commanding the post at Michilimackinac, reported to his superior,[25] Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, that the "most considerable trade from this post is to and beyond the Mississippi by the rout[e] of Prairie du Chien".

Trouble, however, had been brewing in other parts of the world which was to have a decided effect upon the region of the Mississippi Valley. In 1790 the Nootka Sound controversy broke forth as a result of which Spain and England almost came to blows. Perez at St. Louis counselled that an increase of forces would be necessary, for the Spanish officials feared that the British would attack Louisiana. Spain was equally fearful that the United States, in retaliation for her closing the Mississippi to Americans, would allow British soldiers to cross American territory and thus facilitate a British attack from Canada upon Spanish territory in the Mississippi Valley. No real efforts were actually made, however, to reinforce Upper Louisiana for a few years to come.[26]

The beginning of 1792 witnessed a slight change in conditions. At New Orleans, the energetic Baron de Caron-

[24] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* Vol. XXIV, p. 684.

[25] July 28, 1793. — Cruikshank's *The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe,* Vol. I, p. 403, hereafter cited as *Simcoe Papers.*

[26] See in this connection Bemis's *Jay's Treaty,* p. 72 *et. seq.*; Manning's *Nootka Sound Controversy* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1904, pp. 281-478, especially Ch. X, pp. 412-424, *passim*; and Leavitt's *British Policy on Canadian Frontier 1782-1792* in the *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings,* Vol. LXIII, pp. 151-185.

delet became the Governor General of Louisiana, and at St. Louis the efficient and popular Zenon Trudeau took charge. Both men believed that strong means should be adopted in a last effort to keep the British within the confines of their own territory.

Trudeau's voluminous correspondence[27] attests his loyalty and efficiency as a good administrator, and gives us a fair picture of the doings in the "up country". Moreover, he was popular and had behind him almost the united populace of the region. Possessed of a friendly disposition, and evidently of a pleasing personality, knowing French and Spanish, having good judgment, and wielding a fair amount of authority, Zenon Trudeau accomplished, so far as it was possible, what others had tried to do before, but failed. Trudeau attempted to befriend ally and enemy alike, whether Indian, American, or British. At the same time he attempted to gain the advantage for Spain. Carondelet recognized in Trudeau the qualities of a good administrator and relied upon his judgment in a number of cases.

Perez tried to prevent British infiltration into the Iowa country by befriending the Sac and Fox Indians, but the Indians remained hostile, and proved to be his Nemesis. They made raids upon St. Charles, harassed settlements, and stole horses from the Spanish settlers.[28] In 1793 the health of Perez broke under the strain and he resigned.

Carondelet also perceived danger from the north and throughout his term he begged his subordinates to be prepared in case any necessity should arise. He wrote to Manuel Gayoso de Lemos that he had only 1400 skilled

[27] Trudeau's correspondence is largely contained in the Papeles de Cuba. A number of his letters are in the Bancroft Library.

[28] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 24, St. Louis, September 24, 1792, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 24; and letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, November 28, 1792, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

troops with which to defend 700 leagues of territory that extended from San Marcos de Apalache to St. Louis. He frantically asked for more soldiers; but Havana could not spare any troops and could hope for none from Europe. Hence Carondelet advised his subordinates to befriend the Indians and ally them to the Spanish cause. In the Indians, Carondelet perceived the best barrier against the onward rush of the Anglo-Saxons — the British and the Americans.[29] He ordered Trudeau to be prepared to rush to the defense of New Madrid should it be attacked by the Americans, who were restless on account of their exclusion from the navigation of the Mississippi.[30]

A month later he advised the Lieutenant Governor to buy goods from the British, take advantage of them and of the Indians, and by all means complete the fortifications at St. Louis which had been started long before.[31]

When Perez had first suggested that the only means of preventing the British from crossing the Mississippi and trading in Spanish territory was to construct two forts at the mouths of the Des Moines and St. Peter's rivers, Luis de Las Casas, the Captain General in Cuba, did not have sufficient information to approve of that undertaking. He desired more definite knowledge of conditions, especially since Miro, the Governor of Louisiana, had not considered fortifications necessary. Carondelet supplied the required information. In his opinion, the construction of the two forts was useless; they would be of little assistance in defending more than 250 miles of uninhabited territory and

[29] Letter from Carondelet to Gayoso de Lemos, New Orleans, December 18, 1792, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

[30] Letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, December 22, 1792, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

[31] Letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, January 23, 1793, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

would not interfere with the passage of the British to the tribes living near the Missouri. Moreover, the troops could not be spared, and the small garrisons placed in those posts could easily be conquered by the British and Indians.

On the other hand, the suggestion of Perez that St. Louis be fortified was endorsed. Carondelet gave Trudeau orders to carry out this plan and thought construction should have been completed by January, 1793. These plans were later approved by the Captain General and the Commander of the Engineers at Havana.[32]

Fear of the projected George Rogers Clark invasion and of aggression from the United States against Spanish Louisiana caused the high-strung Carondelet to undertake vigorous measures for defense. In the first place, as has already been stated, he ordered New Madrid to be prepared, and issued orders to Louis Lorimier at Cape Girardeau to go to New Madrid's succor should conditions demand such action. He ordered the galliot *La Flecha,* commanded by Pedro Rousseau, to proceed to New Madrid and patrol the mouth of the Ohio, to acquire news of the descent of the Americans, and to see whether the Americans had established any posts on the banks of the Mississippi north of Nogales.[33]

[32] Documents translated in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. I, pp. 342-349. Houck says that they are in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia Santo Domingo, estante 86, cajon 6, legajo 26. Copies are in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1442. The date of Carondelet's letter to Trudeau on page 345 in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri* should be March 26, 1792, and not 1793. Also see draft of a letter from Las Casas (?) to Carondelet, Havana, June 19, 1793, and draft of a letter from Las Casas (?) to Ingeniero Comandante (Cayetano Payeto), Havana, May 18, 1793, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 1442.

[33] Letter from Lorimier to Carondelet, Cape Girardeau, September 17, 1793, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library. See also Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. I, pp. 410-414, Vol. II, pp. 4, 8, 18 ff., *Diary of His Majesty's Galliot, La Flecha,* January 5-March 25, 1793 [from Natchez to New Madrid and return], a manuscript in the Bancroft Library (also in Papeles de Cuba,

During the troublesome years of 1792-1793, when the Osage Indians were most hostile to the Spaniards, the Spanish government wished to deprive them of all provisions in order to reduce them to obedience. The Osages, however, were able to go to the Des Moines River and there be provisioned by the British traders. In his endeavor to stop such illicit commerce, Zenon Trudeau ordered Lorimier to use his influence among the Indians — especially the Loups and Shawnees — to persuade the Ioway, Sac, and Fox tribes to prevent the Osages from crossing their territory on their way to the Des Moines River. They were also to prevent the English from making their way by that river.[34]

Carondelet warned Lorimier that if he did not stop trading with the Americans, his settlement would not be kept up. He must give Spain the benefit of the trade. Lorimier replied that he bought the greater part of his merchandise from his "logis", sometimes from merchants of St. Louis, who obtained their goods from Michilimackinac and America.[35] To pacify the Osages — which Carondelet thought

legajo 2363); and *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I, pp. 1019-1021, 1027-1029, 1042-1045, 1046-1051. Gayoso de Lemos says that he persuaded Carondelet to dispatch the galley to New Madrid [in 1794?]. — Letter from Gayoso de Lemos to Duque de Alcudia, Natchez, February 18, 1794, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I, pp. 1042-1045.

The galleys again ascended to New Madrid under Rousseau's command in 1794, although they were recalled by an order of Alcudia directing Carondelet to prepare for war against France. — See Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba Deposited in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville* (Washington, 1916), legajos 2354, 2362, and 2363, etc. Lorimier in his *Journal* has several notes and references to galleys going to New Madrid. — Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. II, pp. 59, *et seq.* 89, 90, 91, etc.

[34] Letter from Trudeau to Lorimier, St. Louis, May 1, 1793, in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. II, pp. 50, 51.

[35] Letter from Carondelet to Lorimier, New Orleans, May 8, 1793, in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. II, pp. 51, 52; and letter from Lorimier to

indispensable for fear that Genêt and other enemies of Spain would make use of their hostility toward the Spanish — Carondelet granted the exclusive trading privileges with those Indians to Auguste Chouteau, who promised to build and guard a fort among them.[36]

Carondelet feared two or three possible moves. In the first place an attack by the Americans in the west was held to be in the making. Such an attack, it was believed, was the motive for the activities of Genêt, Clark, and others. Secondly, Spanish governor generals constantly dreaded the establishment of an American settlement at or near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. A little later Carondelet feared a possible British attack from Canada.[37]

Carondelet feared that the activities of Clark and Genêt would result in the establishment of an American outpost at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and the consequent loss of Louisiana. His fears fill page after page of voluminous correspondence, not only with his superiors, but also with his subordinates. Carondelet's methods of keeping Louisiana under Spanish rule were to strengthen its defenses by repairing and constructing forts, to send reinforcements to outlying territory, to stir up the Indians to act in coöperation with the Spaniards in withstanding assaults upon Spanish territory from without, and to secure the coöperation of the British from Canada.[38]

Carondelet, Cape Girardeau, September 17, 1793, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

[36] See Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. II, pp. 100-110. A study of Fort Carondelet is now in preparation.

[37] See in this connection Riley's excellent article entitled *Spanish Policy in Mississippi after the Treaty of San Lorenzo* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1897, pp. 177-192.

[38] Whitaker's *The Spanish American Frontier,* p. 191; letter from Caron-

The project for a settlement at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers had been suggested a few years previous. In 1790 Lord Dorchester enclosed a report in a letter to Lord Grenville, in which the statement was made that it had long been in contemplation to establish a settlement at or near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, in territory beyond the jurisdiction of the United States on the west bank of the Mississippi north of the Missouri. He proposed to explore this region first.[39]

The Americans took up the proposition, if we can believe Carondelet. Undoubtedly reading his own imagination into an extract from the *Gaceta de Madrid* and the New York *Gazette,* Carondelet reported that plans were being formulated to establish an American settlement at the confluence of those two rivers. He did not believe that the plan could be carried out the ensuing fall, but he hoped to be prepared.

Las Casas, however, considered the American scheme chimerical and impracticable — comparable, so the Captain General stated, to the Yazoo companies. However he warned his brother-in-law, Governor General Carondelet, to pay attention to anything of such importance. He ordered Carondelet to watch the movements of the Americans carefully and, since the plans called for the location of the establishment in indisputable Spanish territory, the Span-

delet to Alcudia, No. 23, *reservado,* January 1, 1794, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I, pp. 973-977, 1027-1029, 1042-1045, 1049-1051, etc. In this connection see also the following works of F. J. Turner: *Correspondence of Clark and Genet* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I; *Correspondence of the French Ministers* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1903, Vol. II; and *The Policy of France Toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams* in *The American Historical Review,* Vol. X.

[39] Enclosed in a letter from Dorchester to Grenville, Quebec, September 25, 1790, in the *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1890, pp. 156, 157, 257.

iards were to repulse any attempt to establish such a settlement, and to seize the posts should circumstances permit.[40]

Carondelet ordered Zenon Trudeau and Thomas Portell, *comandantes* respectively of St. Louis and New Madrid, to be on the lookout for attempts to plant settlements on the west bank of the Mississippi and to oppose strenuously all efforts in that direction. Galleys were dispatched with men who were to watch the mouth of the Ohio. If Trudeau was forced to retreat to New Madrid in the face of an American and French attack, he was to be put in command of the combined forces and oppose the Americans to the last. Portell did watch the movements of the Americans, especially in the Ohio country, although Major Thomas Doyle, commanding at Fort Massac, assured Portell that the United States government had suppressed all expeditions against Spanish settlements, and that he (Doyle) was to oppose unlawful assemblages called for the purpose of invading Spanish territory. Carondelet, nevertheless, did not drop his defense measures.[41]

Carondelet's greatest fear, as has already been stated,

[40] *Gaceta de Madrid,* March 7, 1794, a copy of which is in the Bancroft Library; letter from Carondelet to Las Casas, No. 119, *reservado,* New Orleans, July 16, 1794, enclosing "propositions presented for consideration of the United States in order to establish a colony in the *riveras occidentales del Mississippi al norte del Rio Missouri*" [and other enclosures] in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2363. The proposals are printed in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. II, pp. 144-147. See also the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I, pp. 1065-1067, 1082-1085; and draft of a letter from [Carondelet ?] to Portell, New Orleans, July 20, 1794, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library. In Carondelet's letter to Las Casas mention is made of "By secret [dispatch] No. 38, which on this day I sent to the Duke of Alcudia".

[41] Letter from Carondelet to Portell, New Orleans, June 20, 1794; letter from Portell to Carondelet, No. 301, New Madrid, July 15, 1794; letter from Doyle to Portell, Fort Massac, July 6, 1794, all in the Bancroft Library. See also a letter from Carondelet to Gayoso de Lemos, New Orleans, August 20, 1794, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I, p. 1082.

was the projected invasion of Spanish Louisiana by George Rogers Clark. If that project were carried into effect, wailed Carondelet, the whole of Upper Louisiana, from St. Louis to Nogales [Vicksburg] — an extent of 380 leagues — would fall into the hands of the Americans; for the total forces available at St. Louis and New Madrid did not exceed 90 regular troops and 200 militia, and the latter could not be trusted. Carondelet also feared continually an attack on New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi, but he stressed the possible loss of Upper Louisiana and particularly St. Louis, for St. Louis was only 22 days march from Santa Fé. These conditions prompted the Governor General to request the fortification of New Madrid, and the sending of a fourth battalion and some galleys to protect New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, and St. Louis.[42]

In a letter dated June 7, 1796, Carondelet wrote:

I have news which seems to merit all confidence, to the effect that the English Company of Canada which trades with the Indian Nations situated to the North of the Missouri River, are forming establishments on this territory which incontestably belongs to His Majesty, who ultimately crossing this same river at some three hundred leagues from where it empties into the Mississippi, passed through with twelve horses loaded with goods to the river which these colonists call the River Platte or Rio Chato, to trade with the Panis, Abenaqui and other nations. I was also advised from the Post of Natchitoches that not far from the Mountains of Santa Fee and of the surrounding country of the Yambarica Indians who are accustomed to live between the heads of the Colorado and Arkansas Rivers, the English and Americans have built an establishment protected by a fortified House. Finally, several travellers from these provinces assured me that in the Bay of St. Louis or San Bernardo, on the Gulf of Mexico, there is another American

[42] Letter from Carondelet to Marqués de Branciforte, New Orleans, April 23, 1796, in Archivo General de Indias, Estado Mexico, legajo 5, transcript in the Bancroft Library.

Establishment of sufficient consequence that if it is allowed to be increased, it will cause much uneasiness in the *Provincias Internas* and to our court.

I have predicted with much feeling, the prompt invasion of the *Provincias Internas* which will undoubtedly follow on the concession to the United States of the Posts which we had on the eastern side of the Mississippi. This must be verified immediately in conformity with the treaty of Friendship, Limits, and Navigation which the United States ratified in the month of March, it not being in my power to check the invasion of the people of the Western American States who are approaching and are going to establish themselves on the east bank of the Mississippi in an expanse of Territory four hundred leagues opposite those of which we do not have more than waste [unsettled territory]. This is from the Ohio River to thirty-one degrees or sixty leagues from this Capital. It is consistent that Your Excellency will see it is necessary to take beforehand, the most effective measures to oppose the introduction of those restless people who are of the type of determined bandits, armed with rifles, who cross the Mississippi frequently, in numbers, with the intention of hunting, and if they like the country, to establish themselves in the *Provincias Internas* whose Indians will be armed as much for harassing the Spaniards as for their fur trade. Five or six thousand of those ferocious men who know neither law nor subjection, are those who are setting up the American establishments and are bringing in their footsteps the prodigious emigration as much from the Atlantic States as those from Europe, which menaces the *Provincias Internas* which the Americans believe very abundant in deposits [minerals]. A little corn, gunpowder, and shot is enough for them; a house formed from the trunks of trees serves them to shelter their harvest of Indian corn; they raise camp and then continue penetrating the interior, always fleeing from all dependents and [illegible].

In short, those provinces exposed to the hostile incursions of the Americans along the Mississippi and of the English along the Missouri, I consider will need for their protection all the zeal, activity, and talent Your Excellency has always manifested, and

to which success it will be a pleasure to contribute, if you consider that I can, on my part, contribute to the tranquillity of these same provinces and of the Kingdom, which His Majesty has entrusted to your vigilance.[43]

Carondelet, however, was shrewd and he soon thought of obtaining help elsewhere. Although Michilimackinac was some 800 miles distant from St. Louis, and though he thought that help arriving from that quarter would be too slow — for an attack expected in spring — he dispatched a plea for help to John Graves Simcoe, the British Lieutenant Governor, on January 2, 1794.[44] In this letter, Carondelet suggested that England and Spain were allies. Undoubtedly, Carondelet told the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, "you know of the project now preparing on the Ohio to attack Spanish Louisiana, despite orders forbidding such expeditions". Clark and Genêt, he said, were planning to attack New Madrid and the Spanish Illinois, hoping to obtain sufficient artillery to attack lower Louisiana. Believing that it was to the best interests of England that the Illinois remain in the hands of the Spaniards, and that the trade should not pass into the hands of either France or the United States, Carondelet appealed to Simcoe for assistance to repel the attack, and to aid him in the defense of St. Louis. For this purpose Simcoe was asked to dispatch 500 men to St. Louis.[45]

Carondelet's letters were forwarded to Simcoe by a

[43] Letter from Carondelet to Marqués de Branciforte, New Orleans, June 7, 1796, in Archivo General de Indias, Estado Mexico, legajo 6, transcript in the Bancroft Library.

[44] Letter from Carondelet to Alcudia, No. 23, and letter from Gayoso de Lemos to Carondelet, Natchez, December 23, 1793, enclosed therein, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I, pp. 1027-1032.

[45] Letter from Carondelet to Simcoe, January 2, 1794, in the *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 129, 130, calendared in the *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, State Papers, Lower Canada, pp. 73, 74.

Shawnee Indian at the direction of Lieutenant Governor Zenon Trudeau and reached him on the eighth of April. The British commandant replied that he was undertaking the defense of Upper Canada against an American attack, and hence it was necessary for him to keep all the available troops that he had at his disposal. Even if he were authorized to do so by Lord Dorchester, the Governor General of Canada, it would have been utterly impossible for him to send the desired troops to St. Louis.[46]

Carondelet received Simcoe's reply at the beginning of July and enclosed a copy of it in his letter to the Duke de la Alcudia. He told the Duke that the policy of the British in the north and of the Spaniards in the south were similar and that the two nations would be mutually benefited by aiding each other. Carondelet suggested that it would be to the interest of Spain to obtain from England the guarantee of the Spanish Territory in the Illinois country. This, he said, could be obtained by granting some privileges to the English in the fur trade north of the Missouri. In the face of such a guarantee, the United States would never dare to invade Louisiana *via* the Ohio, "leaving in the wake of their expedition the powerful forces of Canada and the warlike Indian tribes dependent on the English, nor to attack Canada, their army being menaced in the rear by our savage nations, whom we can easily stir to action by a sum of 100,000 extra annual appropriations".[47]

[46] Letter from Simcoe to Carondelet, Rapids of Miamis River of Lake Erie, April 11, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 200, 201, calendared in *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, State Papers, Lower Canada, p. 71; letter from Simcoe to Dorchester, Navy Hall, April 29, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 222, 223; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 660, 661. Simcoe suggested that the Spaniards could coöperate with the British against the Americans and Indians by using their gunboats on the Ohio and by occupying the mouth of the Wabash River.

[47] Letter from Carondelet to Alcudia, No. 38, *reservado,* New Orleans, July 9, 1794, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896,

Carondelet replied to Simcoe on July 22nd, stating that he was glad to hear of the cordial reception of his letter. He told the British Lieutenant Governor that should the Americans attempt to establish a republic near St. Charles he would attack them as enemies.[48]

Complying with Las Casas's orders of June 16, 1794, by which Carondelet was ordered to give to Las Casas all the detailed information concerning the conditions in Louisiana, Carondelet dispatched on November 24th a minutely detailed military report on Louisiana and West Florida. According to the Governor General, Louisiana extended from 29 degrees north to more than 50 degrees north, including some thousand leagues of territory between the mouth of the Mississippi and its source.

By the Treaty of 1763 Spain was entitled to compete with England for the Indian trade north of the 44th degree. But to Carondelet, it seemed that Spain's attention should be centered on the preservation of His Catholic Majesty's dominions of the Mississippi up to the St. Peter's — or Minnesota River, which was located approximately in that latitude. He felt that the increase in population of the Illinois country, still considered in its infancy, did not permit competition with the British of Canada, and especially with the Americans. The latter were advancing with an incredible speed toward the north and the Mississippi and should the Spanish Court not adopt his suggestions for defense (incorporated in his dispatch of June 3, 1794), the

Vol. I, pp. 1065-1067; letter from Carondelet to Simcoe, New Orleans, July 22, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 334, 335.

[48] This letter was dispatched to the Duke of Portland enclosed in Simcoe's letter, No. 21, March 17, 1795, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. III, p. 329. Simcoe's letter of April 11th was evidently transmitted *via* St. Louis. He also directed a letter to the Spanish Lieutenant Governor. — Letter from Simcoe to Trudeau, Aux Rapides de la Riviere des Miamis, April 11, 1794, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

Americans would in a short time unquestionably force the Spaniards to recognize the Missouri as their boundary, and perhaps they would pass that river. Louisiana was vast, said Carondelet, and even if it did not extend beyond the mouth of the Missouri, a glance at a map would show its importance with respect to the preservation of the *Provincias Internas* and the Kingdom of Mexico. They did not know much about the Upper Missouri but hoped soon to find out through the activities of the newly formed Missouri Company.[49]

The population of Louisiana in 1763 was scarcely 17,000; in 1794 it was over 40,000. The Americans were restless and continually forging their way westward, the acquisition of the rich fur trade of the Missouri being among their objectives. Carondelet plainly feared the Americans and dreaded each new village that was established west of the Appalachian Mountains. Indian alliances; two complete Spanish regiments, 150 artillerymen, 6 galleys, and 2 galliots well fitted out; an annual increase of 100,000 pesos for the Indian department, for the purchase of arms, ammunition, and presents necessary to employ the Indians with efficacy; and increased fortifications particularly of New Madrid and St. Louis — these might save Spain in America. Let Spain institute free trade, said Carondelet in his dispatch of June 3, 1794, and Louisiana would grow strong and defend Mexico. The settlements from the Missouri to New Madrid should be protected by a regiment of soldiers, with its first battalion stationed at St. Louis, its second in New Madrid, and small detachments at intervals in the forty leagues intervening. Ste. Genevieve should be maintained to oppose Kaskaskia. Such a cordon or line,

[49] A detailed account of the exploratory activities of the Missouri Company is contained in Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1929-March, 1930.

supported at its right by the fort at New Madrid, at its left by that at St. Louis, and at its center by Ste. Genevieve, would give sufficient time for the militia, who were all men accustomed to arms, to hasten overland to repel any attack. The trip from New Madrid to St. Louis would occupy but four days on horseback. The Shawnee, Abenaqui, Cherokee, and Osage Indians would form a second line of 1500 men at least, and they would not allow any hostile band to penetrate west of the Mississippi. Finally, four galleys and some very light gunboats could guard the passage of the river and the front of the line since the enemy had no port on the Mississippi where they could construct boats of equal strength. The same galleys could guard the mouth of the Ohio and repel any invasion coming down that river. The galleys should be stationed at New Madrid. Minute details were given for the fort at New Madrid because that post would be the first one to be attacked from the United States.

St. Louis, the capital of Upper Louisiana, was situated some five hundred leagues from New Orleans, but was rather well supplied by several merchants who could be compared with merchants of New Orleans. If Upper Louisiana were favored with free trade, argued the Governor General, it would have an immense fur trade with the nations of the Missouri River region. Free trade with the Spanish market at New Orleans was also deemed not only desirable but indispensable by Baron de Carondelet, in order that the merchants of St. Louis might be better enabled to cope with the British fur traders, who were at that time not only usurping the trade of the Indian tribes residing on the Spanish side of the Mississippi River but were even penetrating the rivers flowing from the west into the Mississippi to the very shores of the Missouri. The English, said the Spanish Governor, "were daily introducing

themselves in greater numbers upon the said river [Missouri] and among the nations living near it.'"[50]

To stop these incursions of British subjects into Spanish territory north of the confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi, Carondelet now proposed that a fort garrisoned by fifty men be established on the St. Peter's [Minnesota] River, and that another fort be established on the Des Moines River.[51] The trade with the Indians west of the Mississippi and Missouri was so rich that notwithstanding the enormous distance of five hundred leagues of wilderness, across which merchandise and furs had to be transported, the London companies which engaged in it did not fail to reap profits of 100 per cent. If the two forts were established, many inhabitants of the present Spanish settlements and settlers from Canada and from the Ohio region would flock there. Within the short space of a few years, said the Spanish Governor, these new establishments would become population centers which would protect the upper part of Louisiana and the upper Missouri River regions from usurpation by the English and Americans. The commerce, trade, and agriculture of the Missouri would produce immense wealth for Louisiana. Such commerce would need only the protection of the government and free trade with New Orleans. All this, declared Carondelet, could be accomplished without the imposition of a single burden upon the royal exchequer and without extraordinary effort.

Since St. Louis was surrounded by brave and industrious savages, was open to assaults by the British and Americans, and was the trade center of Louisiana, Carondelet insisted

[50] See letter from Carondelet to Marqués de Branciforte, New Orleans, June 7, 1796, in Archivo General de Indias, Estado Mexico, legajo 6.

[51] The construction of these posts was suggested earlier by Manuel Perez and Estevan Miro. Carondelet did not here suggest the patrolling of the Mississippi River between the forts he proposed should be constructed at the mouths of the Des Moines and San Pedro Rivers.

it ought to be encircled by a good stockade. Four companies detached from the battalion at New Madrid should be assigned to the defense of St. Louis, and from these, the detachments necessary to maintain the forts at the mouths of the Des Moines and St. Peter's rivers could be dispatched. These soldiers would suffice to protect Spanish Louisiana. All the detachments for Upper Louisiana could be recruited from foreigners who would spend five years in the military service and then devote themselves to agriculture for another five years. To ensure the agricultural service, rations should be given them for those five years. By these measures the full strength of the battalion at all times would also be assured. Such were the recommendations of Carondelet who declared boastfully that should his recommendations be approved he would "answer for Louisiana and for the exclusive possession of the Mississippi River for Spain against every power and all the forces of the American States, whether united to, or separated from, the Atlantic States".[52]

Let us return to pick up the threads of the British activities beyond the Mississippi. As early as April 23, 1792, the merchants of Montreal, fearful of losing the trade of the American Illinois country if the terms of the treaty of 1783 were enforced, appealed to Lieutenant Governor Sim-

[52] Letter from Carondelet to Las Casas, New Orleans, November 24, 1794, in Robertson's *Louisiana under Spain, France and the United States,* Vol. I, pp. 293-345, also in *The American Historical Review,* Vol. II, but not as accurately as it is found in Robertson. This letter is included in Carondelet's dispatch to the Duque de la Alcudia, No. 48, *reservado,* in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2354. It is also found in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, Vol. 17567, folios 22-63 *verso.* Parts of this are included in Carondelet's dispatch to the Count de Aranda, 129. This letter in its entirety is the one in the British Museum referred to above. Extracts are given in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. II, pp. 9-17. See also in this connection letters from Carondelet to Marqués de Branciforte, New Orleans, April 23, 1796, and June 7, 1796, in Archivo General de Indias, Estado Mexico, legajos 5 and 6.

coe for aid. It is a matter of great importance, wrote the merchants, that "we should obtain a practicable communication with the Mississippi, not only on account of a participation in the Indian Trade on this side, but as opening to us new sources of it on the West side of that River, which are capable of being explored and greatly extended — and in which this Country would have no Rival but the Spaniards who hitherto have not attempted excluding us from any of the Western Rivers but the Missouri — thus we might on that side obtain some recompense for the sacrifices of Indian Trade — beyond this line of communication". A communication was certainly intended by the treaty, they continued, or why was there a stipulation for mutual navigation. This express mention of navigation carried by implication the right of access to the river.

There were only three practicable routes of communication with the Mississippi River, continued the merchants in the above mentioned letter: first, by way of the Miami and Wabash rivers; secondly, by way of the Chicago and Illinois rivers; and, finally, by ascending the Fox and descending the Wisconsin to the location of Prairie du Chien. The last was the choice of the routes because of the shortness of the carrying places.[53]

Some of the British were anxious to negotiate a commercial treaty with Spain,[54] which Charles Stevenson informed Lieutenant Governor Simcoe "will be of utmost

[53] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 402-409; *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 12, 13, 36, 37, 91-94, 133-137, 214-217; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 164, 214-217, 338-342, etc. The Fox-Wisconsin route is described in R. Dickson's letter to Robert Hamilton, Michilimackinac, July 14, 1793, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 218, 387-391. A full and helpful description of this route is to be found in Elliot Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike,* Vol. I, pp. 294 *et seq.*

[54] Letter from John Johnson to Allured Clark, Montreal, June 11, 1792, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 164, and 218 *et seq.*; and letter from Stevenson to Simcoe, June 12, 1793, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 384, 385.

advantage to both countries, and I have no doubt on that basis we may really have the navigation of the Mississippi''. This latter objective was considered a commercial necessity.[55]

On July 14, 1793, Robert Dickson, a merchant, informed Robert Hamilton, the legislative counsellor of the Province of Upper Canada, of the state of the fur trade. Describing the Fox-Wisconsin route from Michilimackinac to the Mississippi, Dickson went into the details of the trade from Prairie du Chien, the general rendezvous of the traders and Indians in the spring and fall. From this center British traders could penetrate to the fertile lands of the Upper Mississippi. The only hindrance to the acquisition of the trade of that area was the prevalence of Indian wars. Of the rivers between the mouth of the Wisconsin and the Falls of St. Anthony, the St. Peter's was the largest; and along its shores congregated most of the Indians. By way of the St. Peter's, traders could penetrate to the Missouri and also to the North West Company's posts on the Red River of the North. If it had not been for the Sioux-Sauteux war, trade would have been profitable and easy.

Dickson described the Mississippi Valley from New Orleans to Prairie du Chien as excellent in soil and production. He represented the residents as repressed by Spain, with a natural inclination to ease and indolence. The inhabitants, he declared, would rejoice to be under British rule. Spanish territory was not very efficiently defended, and Spain feared the Americans. He described the area between the St. Peter's and the Red River as excellent fur country, and intimated that trade was also carried on in the Des Moines River area. Even with the Indian war raging, the annual trade returns from the St. Peter's River

[55] Letters from Stevenson to Simcoe, April 27, 1793, July 12, 1793, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 319, 320, 384, 385.

were about £9000 HLX.[56] If the war did not exist the returns would double and possibly triple in amount.[57]

Ten days later Captain William Doyle, the commandant at Michilimackinac, reported as follows on the trade of Michilimackinac to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe:

> The most considerable Trade from this Post is to and beyond the Mississippi — by the rout of La Prairie du Chien, from which place the Traders descend with facility to the American Settlements at the Illinois, who are all affected to the British government. The trade to that Country is much in our favor, as they consume a great quantity of British Manufactures particularly Cottons, and not having sufficiency of Peltries to give in return the balance is paid in cash which they receive from their neighbors the Spaniards.
>
> There is also a considerable trade carried on from hence to the Spanish Post of Pain Court [St. Louis], upon the Mississippi, which is considerably in our favor, but cannot be depended upon for two reasons, first, the admission of goods from this Post, being contraband tho' not rightly observed, secondly, should an enterprising Merchant send Goods from New Orleans up the River, he could undersell the Traders from this Post, but this traffic which has been open to them for years, they have never attempted.[58]
>
> The present Commanding Officer at St. Louis, Captain Trudot [Zenon Trudeau], is highly spoken of by the British Traders: He has in many instances rendered them essential services. The Arrival

[56] Halifax currency.

[57] Letter from Dickson to Hamilton, in Public Record Office (London) Colonial Office Papers, Class 42 (Canada), Vol. 318, Michilimackinac, July 14, 1793, printed in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. I, pp. 387-391, calendared in *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, State Papers, Upper Canada, p. 36. An excellent biographical sketch of Robert Dickson has been recently published by L. H. Tohill in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly,* October, 1928-April, 1929.

[58] See in this connection Zenon Trudeau's discourse on the subject of the English trade in a letter probably written to Carondelet under date of May 18, 1793. This letter is in the Bancroft Library, but unfortunately the first folio or folios of it are lacking.

of some Spanish Merchants, this summer to trade, has enabled me to convince them, I was not insensible of Captain Trudot's politeness. There are also a chain of British Traders, extending from the Illinois up the Mississippi to the Mouth of the River St. Peter, which River they ascend to its very source, it is the most valuable branch of commerce belonging to this Post, and capable of being improved to a great degree, that extensive Country abounding in valuable Furs, and there being no danger of interruption, the Spanish not daring to risk themselves amongst Naudowessie [Sioux] Indians, who are much attached to the English.

Respecting the information Your Excellency received from Captain Charlton, of an extension of Trade by the route of La Prairie du Chien beyond the Mississippi to the Missouri I had reason to suppose It might have been effected, but now I much doubt whether it ever will be attended with solid advantages, while the Spaniards are in possession of the Key of those Countries, who watch with a jealous Eye the British Traders, well knowing their enterprise and dreading they might find their way to Santa Fé or other valuable mines in that neighborhood. However, conceiving it an advantage to open a Trade with the Missourie, I gave some adventurers this Spring encouragement, who proposed to penetrate by the River St. Peter; I recommend to them to use their exertions to prevail upon some of the Chiefs to accompany them to this Post upon their return, which they promised to perform, should they succeed in their attempt.

I am to regret that I am deprived of the assistance of some intelligent Merchants, who are gone to the Mississippi but I hope from the information I shall be able to collect from them upon their return to give Your Excellency a thorough knowledge of the Trade and the great importance of this Post.[59]

[59] Letter from Doyle to Simcoe, Michilimackinac, July 28, 1793, Public Record Office (London) C. O. 42/318, published in *Simcoe Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 403-404, calendared in *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1891, State Papers, Upper Canada, p. 36.

The demands for the navigation of the Mississippi River and the attempts to conciliate the Indians of the Upper Mississippi Valley and to keep peace between and among them in the interests of trade are recounted in the many letters contained in the Public Record Office (London) C. O. 42/318. See

Trudeau, evidently allowing for circumstances, permitted trade to go on with the British and Americans, as can be inferred from Captain Doyle's letter to Simcoe, from which a number of quotations have already been made. Simcoe reported Trudeau's civility to Lord Dorchester, but remarked that the Spanish Lieutenant Governor was sending messages to the Indian tribes residing east of the Mississippi, calling upon them for assistance and promising them active support.[60]

Writing presumably in 1794, Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish observed that the greater portion of the posts where the traders wintered were located within the area claimed by the United States, with the exception of Grand Portage, and that several of the trading places on the Mississippi were on the Spanish side of that river and suggested the establishment of a neutral Indian country to be open to the traders of all countries — meaning the United States and England.[61] This trade, they observed, was too valuable to give up — especially since the Northwest trade had almost doubled between 1790-1794.[62]

In his annual report on the state of the Province in 1794, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe observed that the fur trade had hitherto been the staple product of Canada, and that the trade of the Northwest "is at present the most valuable

calendar of them in *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, and the many letters printed in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* and in the *Simcoe Papers.*

[60] Letter from Simcoe to Dorchester, Navy Hall, April 29, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 222, 223; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 660, 661; speeches at Miamis Rapids, May 7, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 231-233.

[61] Leavitt's *British Policy on Canadian Frontier* in *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings,* Vol. LXIII, pp. 151-185, and Bemis's *Jay's Treaty,* Ch. VI.

[62] *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. II, pp. 310-313.

branch of the commerce and is encreasing". The trade carried on from Michilimackinac appeared to Simcoe to be of the utmost importance and to offer the greatest promise of future advantage. It would be of utmost advantage, if the British could (without exciting the jealousy of Spain) establish a factory "on the Western Banks of the Mississippi, perhaps opposite the mouth of the Ouisconsing, [Wisconsin] in some Spot of land well adapted to the following purposes, General Protection, the building of Houses, Store Houses, &c, and Shipping". The land should be purchased from the Indians. To obtain the free passage of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, Simcoe argued, annual presents should be distributed among the savages residing along those rivers.

The advantages of such a post would be many: a considerable trade might be opened with the Spaniards as well as with the Indians; and presents suitable to the Indian trade, which the Spanish government annually permitted to be sent from Great Britain to New Orleans, would probably by this channel of communication operate to a wider extent and become of greater benefit to British trade.

Spain, continued the Lieutenant Governor, wanted a guarantee of her American possessions by Great Britain. She would therefore not oppose such an establishment on the Mississippi, if its object were plainly commerce and not the extension of territory. It would help to alienate Trans-Appalachia from the United States and would divert the attention of the West from forcing a passage of the Mississippi contrary to the Spanish interests. Such an establishment would open a vast mart in Spanish America and the United States to British commerce, and would probably draw the trade of western United States as well, and develop the commerce to London *via* Canada. If England did not undertake to construct such an establishment, ar-

gued Simcoe, the United States would eventually enter the fur trade beyond the Mississippi (by building highways and cultivating the friendship of the natives), and would undersell their rivals.[63]

The Spaniards, too, reported that British traders were infesting the western banks of the Mississippi. Trudeau reported the dispatch of an expedition to investigate and capture any British traders found in the Iowa country, a mission which, as we shall see later, was successful.[64]

On April 30, 1795, pursuant to information given by "Duchene Pero" [Jean Baptiste Perrault?], Trudeau informed the Governor General that the English were introducing themselves "*plus que jamais*" in the Iowa country and were penetrating to the upper parts of the Missouri where they were not only inflicting injury on the Spanish government by weaning the Indians away from their allegiance and attachment to His Catholic Majesty, but were also injuring the commerce of Spanish traders from St. Louis. Particularly was this the case with the Otoes, Mahas, and Poncas, residing about the Missouri-Platte River region.[65]

Finally, in December, 1795, Andrew Todd reported to the Spanish Governor General that "at present it is well known that in spite of all the vigilance of this government [Spanish] the traders from Michilimackinac are in sole possession of the trade of the upper parts of this province

[63] Letter from Simcoe to Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, Navy Hall, September 1, 1794, Public Record Office (London) C. O. 42/318, enclosed in a letter from Simcoe to Dundas, No. 36, Niagara, September 11, 1794, in *Simcoe Papers,* Vol. III, pp. 52-68, calendared in *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, State Papers, Upper Canada, p. 39.

[64] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 142, St. Louis, October 21, 1793, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 27.

[65] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, April 30, 1795, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 211.

which they are able to maintain by the policy that Great Britain has always adopted of permitting the importation and exportation of goods duty free from Canada''. Thus aided, notwithstanding handicaps of distance and expressage charges, the traders could undersell the Spanish not only in the trade with the Indians, but in St. Louis itself.[66]

The Spanish merchants from St. Louis had long been trading with the merchants of Michilimackinac and with American merchants in the Illinois country, because of the cheaper prices and more abundant supplies there. If they went to New Orleans prices were higher and supplies often could not be obtained in sufficient quantities to sustain the population of the Spanish Illinois, much less to supply them with merchandise to carry on their business in St. Louis and their trade with the Indians.[67]

By the ''regulations'' formulated in 1793 for the trade in the Illinois country, the merchants of St. Louis were allowed to purchase merchandise from the British or Americans, particularly when supplies were scarce. By 1795 most of the leading merchants of the Spanish Illinois had correspondents not only in New Orleans, but also in Kaskaskia, in Michilimackinac, and in Montreal. Trudeau recognized the benefits to be derived from such illicit commerce: one reason for his popularity in St. Louis was his ''winking at the law'' and allowing such trade, legally contraband, to be carried on. British merchants could, there-

[66] Letter from Todd to the Governor General and Intendant of Louisiana, New Orleans, December 18, 1795, Annex No. 7 to Carondelet's dispatch No. 65, *reservado,* to El Principe de la Paz, New Orleans, January 8, 1796, in Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid) Section, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. It can also be found in English, unsigned, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2364 and elsewhere.

[67] For example, see the business accounts of Auguste Chouteau and many other merchants of St. Louis in the Auguste Chouteau Collection, the Pierre Chouteau Collection, and the Gratiot Letter Book, in possession of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.

fore, as has already been mentioned, report that a large business was being carried on from Michilimackinac and Prairie du Chien with the settlements in the Illinois country and with St. Louis. Because Trudeau allowed British traders to trade with St. Louis and merchants at St. Louis to trade with the American Illinois,[68] he was liked also by the British commandants. More than once, however, Trudeau attempted to enforce the Spanish law, and later made honest efforts to stop the illicit trade.

Charles Gratiot and other Spanish merchants at St. Louis made trips to Michilimackinac; and it is certain that most of those trips, if not all, were made for business. Gratiot made one such trip in 1793. As we have already noted, Captain William Doyle expected the arrival of some Spanish merchants at his post in the summer of 1793, and he intended to reciprocate Trudeau's kindness to visiting British traders. Cerré made many a trip to Canada from the Spanish Illinois; and throughout the last decade of Spanish rule in the Illinois country, the two Chouteaus, Regis Loisel, Jacques Clamorgan, and others did business (possibly the greater portion of their business) with Todd, McGill and Company; Andrew Todd and Company; William Todd; John Lyle; James Swan; Grant and Laframboise; George Gillespie and Company; and Schneider and Company (the last named of London).[69]

Trudeau, however, objected emphatically to British traders entering Spanish territory and trading with the Indians. Should the British traders capture the trade with the Indian nations residing in Spanish territory several detrimental results were quite likely to follow. In the first

[68] Trudeau, however, objected to British merchants and traders trading directly with the Indians living in Spanish territory.

[69] Many of the business accounts of the St. Louis merchants are in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.

place, the trade would be taken away from the Spanish residents of the Illinois country. Again, British trade with the Indians meant that those Indians would attach their allegiance to the Union Jack. In their rivalry with the Spanish traders for the commerce with the natives, the British would imbue the Indians with a hatred for the Spanish; and, giving vent to their aroused feelings against the subjects of Spain, the Indian nations would "pounce" upon the Spaniards, pillage their towns, and tomahawk the settlers. Thus a combination of the patriotic, the economic, and the self-defense motives forced Trudeau to attempt to stop the influx of British traders into Spanish territory. We shall see how this was done.

The chief problems that confronted Trudeau, when he assumed the reins of government at St. Louis in 1792, were the subjugation of the Osage Indians, the defense of the province, and the prevention of incursions into Spanish territory by foreigners, that is, by Americans and Englishmen. All three were in reality parts of one and the same problem.

The Osage Indians were the Ishmaelites of the native Americans. Their hand was against everyone, and most of the other tribes were hostile to them. In the almost impossible task of subduing the Osages, the Spaniards employed various methods, such as stopping their annuities, prohibiting trade with them, and more definitely punitive measures. Generally, when coerced, the Osages would readily sue for peace; but when it was granted to them, as it often was, they would return to their former perfidy and continue depredations upon Spanish settlements. Early in the last decade of the eighteenth century, the Osage Indians became so annoying to both red and white men alike that not only were their annuities withdrawn from them and trade with them prohibited, but the commanders of the

Arkansas, Natchitoches, New Madrid, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and St. Louis posts were ordered to organize a campaign to subjugate the Osages. A general Spanish-Indian war was planned.

But the chief reliance was placed by the Spaniards upon the withholding of supplies from the Osages. In this they were disappointed through the machinations and activities of the British traders, who, by their influence with some Sac, Fox, and Ioway native chiefs, were allowed to penetrate the waters of the Des Moines River and supply the Osages with provisions. These activities exasperated Trudeau. To allow the reader to peer into Trudeau's mind we quote in translation from a dispatch of the Lieutenant Governor to his superior, the Governor General of Louisiana:

> I have not delayed a single instant since the declaration of war against the Osages, in order that the Indians, our allies, should join with me to form an expedition, those which Your Excellency commands to attack the main body of these nations, or at least a part of them. The Saquias [Sacs] who probably number five hundred men, have always alleged different pretexts in order to elude and finally, on the advice of the English merchants, to sue for peace, the same as the Ioways and the Fox Indians did, with the said Osages, a peace which will not indeed, last longer than the duration of this winter's hunt, but of which the English will take advantage in order to meet with the above mentioned Osages on the Missouri, or call [them] to the River Des Moins to make a treaty which will be very prejudicial to our interests. In order to avoid this danger as much as possible, I have formed an expedition of forty men, 10 regulars, and 30 of the militia, in command of Commandant and Sargent of Militia, Antonio Vinsant [Antoine Vincent], who came there at four o'clock in the morning in order to introduce himself on the above mentioned River Des Moins, to arrest and confiscate all the foreign traders who have penetrated it, as likewise, those who have established themselves

on the territory of His Majesty, which is [referring to territory] between this River Des Moins and the Missouri. I do not know whether the fact that under the existing circumstances Spain finds herself allied to England in the present European war, ought to be a reason for allowing the English to trade in territory which our government has always prohibited up to the present; but I believe that in no case, should they be permitted to supply arms and munitions to our enemies, particularly those passing through our lands, when destruction of most of our establishments is likely to result from this.

I have appointed a scrivener to accompany Antonio Vinsant [Vincent] on his expedition, since Visant [Vincent] does not know how to write, in order that the said scrivener should make writ or warrant and an inventory of all the seizures that are made, which are to be conserved, until by the aforementioned warrants which I will remit in good time to Your Excellency, it shall be determined what will be most convenient to do.[70]

Success attended this venture of Trudeau. About the end of October, 1793, Trudeau's emissaries captured some English merchants descending the Mississippi from Michilimackinac. They were apprehended near the confluence of the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers — about 41 leagues above St. Louis. Among those who owned merchandise which was captured were Andrew Todd of Todd, McGill and Company, merchants of Montreal, Josiah Bleakley, and Nicholas Marchesseau. According to Todd more than 7860 pesos worth of merchandise, exclusive of the *"armamento, equipacion, y salarios de remeros"*, was taken by the Spaniards. According to the representations of their British attorney-in-fact, J. Jones, the goods confiscated amounted

[70] This dispatch is in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 27. For some published material relating to the early relations of the Spaniards with the Osage Indians see Bolton's *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana Texas Frontier 1768-1780*; Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri*; and Nasatir's *Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri* in *The Missouri Historical Review*, October, 1929-April, 1930.

to the value of $8814, original cost at Michilimackinac. According to Jones, the boats (for more than one boatload of goods was confiscated) were on their way ostensibly to trade in the American Illinois country. These men thought that as they were British subjects they had a right to navigate the Mississippi at least as far as the mouth of the Ohio. They had for years been carrying on commerce between Michilimackinac and the American settlements in the Illinois country. While encamped on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, on their way to their destination, at a place 120 miles distant from any post or settlement, they were met by the party of Spaniards dispatched by order of Lieutenant Governor Trudeau under command of Antoine Vincent. He arrested the crews and conveyed them and their goods to St. Louis, where he delivered to the commanding officer such part of the goods as escaped pillage. Here the prisoners, among whom were two of the four petitioners (Todd, Bleakley, Charles Bellivos, and Marchesseau — all from Canada), were confined in the common guardhouse for a considerable time.

Mr. Jones dwelt at length on the treatment of Josiah Bleakley, who was among those arrested. Bleakley was invited by Vincent to come ashore; and he went. He and his crew, together with their cargo, were seized, conveyed to St. Louis, and there the men were imprisoned. It was true, however, that the greater part of Bleakley's cargo was returned to him, save a few articles valued at $162 which were detained. The restitution was not made, however, until Mr. Bleakley's books and papers, both private and commercial, were examined not only by Trudeau but also by a number of citizens assembled there for the purpose. The pretext for the arrest was that the goods and persons were found on the western side of the Mississippi, where, it was claimed, they could have been only for the

purpose of contraband trade with the Indians residing in the dominions of His Catholic Majesty. Jones did not deny the fact that the goods were found on the western side of the Mississippi, but, he claimed, the men were not trading with the Indians in Spanish territory. They were there for trade with the Sac Indians, who had constantly resided and had their towns on the American side of the river, and were considered by the United States government as belonging to them. Therefore a trade (admitting that such a trade was made) could not be said to be made with Indians residing in Spanish territory.

The British denied having carried on trade with Indians on the Spanish side of the river. The formation of the river, they declared, had decided them to encamp on the Spanish shore of the Mississippi. The British attorney stated that there was an epidemic during that summer (1793); that sickness of the crew and the "fullness" of their cargo forced them to encamp — for the purpose of building huts. At this point they were captured by Vincent.

Moreover, their capture was contrary to reason. They had been navigating the Mississippi for a number of years unmolested. Had Trudeau given notice that this would not be allowed by the Spanish government, these merchants would not have hazarded their goods in such an undertaking. As no notice had been posted, Jones, on behalf of his clients, petitioned Governor General Carondelet to make full restitution to the British merchants.[71]

[71] Petition of Todd, McGill and Company, Josiah Bleakley, Charles Bellivos, and Nicholas Marchesseau to Carondelet, by J. Jones, their attorney in fact, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 201; letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 21, 1795, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129; Annex No. 1 to Carondelet's letter to Principe de la Paz, No. 65, *reservado,* New Orleans, January 8, 1796, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. Drafts of this are in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129. Carondelet had ordered Trudeau to confiscate all English boats that he found loaded with goods in territory west of the Mississippi. — "Minuta del Acta del Supremo Consejo de Estado,

The seizure of the goods of Todd, Bleakley, and the others became involved in international relations. It appears that the crews and cargoes captured were correspondents and traders of two of the leading "fur trading" companies of Canada — Todd, McGill and Company, and Forsythe and Richardson and Company. These firms apparently appealed to Lord Dorchester, Governor General of the Province of Canada, for retribution and restitution. On August 21, 1794, Lord Dorchester addressed a letter to Governor General Carondelet, setting forth the circumstances of the capture and the ill-treatment suffered by the Canadians at the hands of the Spaniards, and stressing the claim that they had been captured while engaged in trade in the Mississippi River region, 100 miles above any post occupied by Spanish troops. Dorchester communicated directly with Carondelet and not with the Spanish Court, because he thought that he would get justice sooner in this fashion.[72]

May 27, 1796," Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado. The accounts as relating the amount of the value of the goods confiscated seem to vary: Todd says 7860 pesos. — Letter from Todd to Carondelet, December 21, 1795, Annex No. 1 to Carondelet's letter No. 65, *reservado,* to El Principe de la Paz, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3700. Jones says $8814. One itemized account was found which follows:

	Livres
Amount of Goods the property of Andrew Todd	19,274.14
Amount of Goods the property of Nicholas Marchesseau . . .	6,325.9
Amount of Goods the Property of Josiah Bleakley	13,701.8
Total Amount in Livres	39,301.11

New Orleans 19*me* Dec. 1795
Andrew Todd for Self & the
others interested,. — From a list attached to Todd's petition, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129, and in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Trudeau sold some of the goods confiscated for something like $2860. — Houck's *History of Missouri,* Vol. I, p. 330.

72 Letter from Dorchester to Carondelet, Montreal, August 21, 1794, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2374; *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, State Papers,

On June 12, 1795, Carondelet replied, evading the issue. He told Dorchester that such matters depended for settlement not on him, but on the courts. Carondelet, however, took the opportunity of pointing out to the Canadian officer that an illicit trade had long been carried on in the Mississippi region. The offenders in this case had not been prosecuted; the only thing that had happened was the confiscation of their goods. Carondelet agreed to transmit Dorchester's letter to the Spanish Court (as undoubtedly he did), that the King might render a decision. Meanwhile, Carondelet informed Dorchester, he must obey orders.[73]

Having received what he may have called an unsatisfactory reply from the Spanish Governor General, Dorchester on October 26th transmitted the information concerning the seizure on the Mississippi, a copy of his letter to Carondelet, and the latter's reply, to the Duke of Portland. The merchants concerned also sent to their agents in London a statement of the losses and the proofs of these losses. What occurred if the two courts ever considered the matter is not known to the writer.[74]

Carondelet's efforts to keep intact the possessions of Spain west of the Mississippi were confined to trading activities, bribing Indians, giving presents, and proposing an increase in armaments. In the case of the Spanish Illinois, these means were ineffectual. He had recommended to the Spanish Court that forts be established at the

Lower Canada, pp. 113, 116, 117 (enclosed with Dorchester's dispatch to the Duke of Portland, No. 68, October 26, 1795). This letter was received at Cahokia on April 5, 1795.

[73] Letter from Carondelet to Dorchester, New Orleans, June 12, 1795, in *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, State Papers, Lower Canada, p. 114, enclosed in Dorchester's dispatch No. 70 to the Duke of Portland.

[74] Letter from Dorchester to the Duke of Portland, No. 68, Quebec, October 26, 1795, in *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1891, State Papers, Lower Canada, pp. 116, 117.

mouths of the Des Moines and St. Peter's rivers; he had urged the building of stronger forts at New Madrid and St. Louis; he had proposed the stationing of more soldiers in those forts and the patrolling of the Mississippi with gunboats. But to these proposals the Spanish Court turned a deaf ear. Critical times in Spain, the remoteness of the Illinois country from New Orleans and of the latter from Spain, and the fear of spending money which indeed was very scarce are but a few of the reasons why Spain did not, in fact could not, accede to Carondelet's request.

Carondelet did all that was possible for him to do with his very limited supplies of money and goods and the small number of men and ships. He sent expeditions up to St. Louis; but St. Louis was far off. Trudeau was on the look-out for the safety and welfare of St. Louis. He, too, was now advocating the patrolling of the Mississippi between the Des Moines and St. Peter's rivers, in an endeavor to stop British incursions into Spanish territory, and British tampering and trafficking with the Indians legally subject to Spain. A letter from Trudeau to Carondelet contains the following:

> Since my last letter to you by a barge of Mr. Chouteau, there has arrived here a man of importance of the Nation Poux [Potawatomi] sent by the chief to assure me that they have decided among themselves that the first of their nations who will do harm to our post [district] would be sent to me in order to dispose of him at my will. I will believe that those who sent me the embassy have good intentions but the number of rascals is great and I doubt very much that the other ones can stop them when they will be disposed to do evil to us. . . . This disposition in our favor and the necessity to dissimulate our resentment against a nation which inhabits a foreign district and which is our neighbor has caused me to receive the embassy and to acquiesce in its propositions until the effects will be seen.

I enclose a request which the one called Duchéne Perrot [presented], *traitteur* unique of our district in the river Des Moines where the English are introducing themselves more than ever and penetrating even to the upper Missouri. They have so well indoctrinated the Savages that one can no longer, without risk, go among the Maha, Ototas and Poncas — from whom they have for a long time drawn all the beavers and the *touchés* as well as other furs. These three nations maltreat our traders every year, who [and?] are forcing them to pay heavy tribute for the privilege of remaining in the nation — to such a degree that those who returned this year have suffered a loss of 2000 piastres in the [trade of the] Oto alone; the other traders are still absent [but] will not receive any better treatment. The only way that I see of opposing the wrongs inflicted upon us by the English is by having an establishment between the Des Moines River and the - - - - - [Iowa?] which are ten leagues distant the one from the other — an establishment which would experience great obstacles on the part of the savages [who have become] too much accustomed to receive, at a low price all their needs from the English and would be encouraged by the English to vex us as far as St. Louis. If it were possible for our government to come to an understanding with the Court of London in order to assure to us at least the two rivers — placing obstacles on their traders to approach — then the savages would have recourse to us and would be quiet. We would have 1000 *paquetes* [of fur] more each year and we could force all the savages of the Missouri to remain quiet and to allow us a free passage to the upper parts of that river, which falls under the shades [shadow?] of Canada. The new Company formed to carry on commerce can attract to itself a large part of [the trade] that the English have in all the western part of Canada.

By a small galliot armed like that [the *La Flecha*] which Mr. Langlois commands [we] could impose a respect which would protect the entrance of the two rivers and make the English fear to go there. This galliot would only go there during the first three months of autumn and would withdraw at the first ice. But there would be still to be feared that she would be defeated by savages

who would only embolden them [selves] as well as their traders. — Notwithstanding I have warned the Commandant of Mackinac that I am about to employ all means [possible] in order to seize all those who introduce themselves there in these two rivers and which have been the cause that the Missouri Traders of the Nation Kance [Kansas], have been pillaged by the Iowas and to whom they have offered to pay a double price for all the furs that they could bring back from there. I enclose a copy of my letter.[75]

Both Trudeau and Carondelet took advantage of any and all opportunities to cope with the situation. They granted exclusive trade monopolies to the "Missouri Company" formed in 1794, hoping thus to oust the British from the Upper Missouri. But by 1796 it was difficult for the Spanish to penetrate to the Upper Missouri. The tribes of the Lower Missouri, especially those residing about the mouth of the Platte, were becoming indoctrinated with British propaganda and were deluged with presents from His Britannic Majesty and merchandise from English traders. The Upper Mississippi was daily becoming infested with more British trappers and traders — all emanating nominally from Michilimackinac, but actually from Prairie du Chien. And this despite every possible effort on the part of Trudeau and Carondelet.

As a last resort, for Spain had not yet sanctioned the sending of reinforcements of men, money, and supplies to Louisiana, Carondelet conceived the idea of fighting the British with their own fire. His opportunity presented itself late in 1795. Jay's treaty with England implied the loss of a large part of British fur trade in the region then known as the Northwest Territory.[76] One of the principal

[75] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, April 30, 1795, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 211. This letter is of such import in this connection that we quote extensively from it.

[76] On this point see Bemis's *Jay's Treaty*, and McLaughlin's *Western Posts*

merchants of Canada who had been operating largely in that field was Andrew Todd. As mentioned above, some of Andrew Todd's goods had been confiscated on the Mississippi in 1793. He had appealed through Dorchester to Carondelet for restitution — and in that he had failed. Todd now appealed directly to Carondelet and became interested in the Spanish side of the Indian trade.

When the Jay treaty went into effect, Todd could operate under Spanish law and enlarge his very lucrative trading business in the Upper Mississippi country, or he could operate under American supervision and retain a part of his old business. A decision had to be made before the evacuation of the northwest posts by England in 1796, as provided for under the terms of the Jay treaty. This was an opportunity for Carondelet, and he seized it.

It is quite likely, although it is not absolutely certain, that Andrew Todd not only carried on trade with natives, both in the Spanish and American Illinois countries, but also had relations with St. Louis merchants. It is also probable that he may have been supplying merchandise to Clamorgan and the Missouri Company, particularly at the time they dispatched their third (?) expedition under the leadership of James Mackay. It may also be true, as Houck intimates, and as others agree, that Todd was granted the exclusive privilege of the Upper Mississippi region in 1794. It may be that he joined the Missouri Company, most likely in 1795, and advanced goods to Jacques Clamorgan and the Missouri Company. Clamorgan may have been acting as a Spanish subject to secure the exclusive rights to trade in a given area from the Governor General; and Todd may have been acting as the sponsor and financier of Clamorgan's enterprises. At any rate, in December, 1795, Cla-

and British Debts in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* 1894.

morgan proposed to Carondelet that he would build at his expense a fort in the environs of the mouth of the Des Moines River, in an endeavor to stop British incursions into Spanish territory, in return for the exclusive trading privileges with the Indians residing near, or frequenting, the Des Moines, "Bettê [Bete] Puante" [Skunk] and Iowa rivers and their tributaries, for a term of six years. In his proposal Clamorgan failed to make mention of Todd's name; but as he later made many references to Todd, it seems unlikely to the writer that Todd was given the exclusive trading privileges of the Upper Mississippi until almost the very close of the year 1795.[77]

Louis Houck believes that in Andrew Todd's efforts to obtain restoration of his goods, which had been seized by the Spaniards in October, 1793, or the proceeds therefrom, he came into relations with Spanish officials and at length secured the exclusive trading privilege on the Upper Mississippi. The writer agrees with this conclusion and believes that the date of the granting to Todd of the above mentioned exclusive trading privilege could not have been prior to December, 1795, unless — as was not unusual — the Lieutenant Governor allowed Todd to exercise that privilege prior to its approval by the Governor General.

Todd was not altogether new in the trade of the Upper

[77] Three copies of the draft of the "Reglemente pour la traite des Illinois" containing only the original eleven articles are in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2363. A copy in poor French interspersed with English translation is in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, Spanish Archives Collection, No. 90. The original, together with the additional articles and reply of Trudeau to Carondelet's proposals, is in the Bancroft Library. See also letter from Clamorgan to Carondelet, St. Louis, December 15, 1795, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2371; Houck's *History of Missouri,* Vol. I, pp. 330, 331; Van der Zee's *Fur Trading Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country under the Spanish Régime* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* Vol. XII, p. 366; Stevens's *The North West Fur Trade,* pp. 114, 115. For the identification of the "Bete Puant" as the "Skunk" River see Coues's *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike,* Vol. I, p. 18.

Mississippi Valley, nor indeed in his relations with the Indians and merchants of the Spanish Illinois country. Andrew Todd was a nephew of Isaac Todd, an old and revered merchant of Montreal, Michilimackinac, and elsewhere. Acting under the direction of his uncle and of Todd, McGill and Company of Montreal, he had established Andrew Todd and Company at Michilimackinac. From here he had dispatched traders in all directions, into the "Old Northwest", into the Minnesota area, and into the Iowa country.

The Spanish merchants of St. Louis had been in correspondence and business relations both directly and indirectly with the merchants of British Canada *via* Cahokia. For example, Chouteau had been dealing with British and American merchants certainly since the close of the Revolutionary War, if not indeed before. In 1786 the British merchants sold goods to him directly and through the medium of the American merchants at Cahokia.[78] In 1791 and after, if not indeed before, he dealt directly with the American impresario merchant at Kaskaskia, William Morrison, and with William Todd at Prairie du Chien. In 1794 and even earlier, Charles Gratiot was acting as a medium of trade between the merchants of St. Louis, Auguste and Pierre Chouteau, and their London commission house of Schneider and Company, which relationship continued for many years. In 1796 Chouteau was dealing with Todd, McGill and Company. In 1797 he tried to persuade the British merchant, William Grant, evidently then in St. Louis on business, to dispose of some of his goods for him among the Sioux (who were practically under the economic control of the Canadian traders) on his return voyage — the amount so raised to be placed by Grant to

[78] Perrault's *Narrative* in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* See also Smith's *St. Clair Papers,* Vol. II.

Chouteau's credit. He urged Grant to purchase some supplies for him at Michilimackinac.[79]

Other merchants, too, dealt with the Canadians. Cerré, for example, and others. Indeed, many boats regularly plied the rivers between St. Louis and Mackinac.

Andrew Todd had been in trading relations with the St. Louis merchants as well. According to Carondelet and Clamorgan he had furnished goods to the Missouri Company for its expeditions. It was agreed now, as we shall soon see, that the Missouri Company was to obtain all its supplies through the House of Andrew Todd. Accounts and bills for goods which Regis Loisel and later Clamorgan, Loisel and Company drew from Andrew Todd and Company and from other Canadian merchants are still extant among the voluminous manuscripts in the possession of that invaluable mine of Mississippi-Missouri valley history, the Missouri Historical Society.[80]

It will be remembered that Todd's goods had been seized in October, 1793, and that he had appealed for redress to the Governor of Canada, Lord Dorchester, who had written to Governor Carondelet, but without effect. Possibly because of the influence of Clamorgan and Trudeau, Todd, in December, 1795, decided to appeal directly to the Governor of Spanish Louisiana. He was a resident of Louisiana at that time, and on the 18th of December he addressed a

[79] Letter from William Todd to Auguste Chouteau, Prairie du Chien, May 5, 1796, and other account bills; letter from Auguste Chouteau to William Grant, St. Louis, May 8, 1797; account of William Schneider and Company with Auguste Chouteau, London, March 27, 1794; account of Todd, McGill and Company with A. and P. Chouteau, Montreal, July 30, 1796; letter from Schneider and Company to Auguste Chouteau, London, April 9, and April 11, 1798; etc. These are but examples of many accounts that are extant. See also manuscripts in possession of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis.

[80] See citations in preceding note, especially the account of Regis Loisel with Andrew Todd and Company, Michilimackinac, July 8, 1795, St. Louis, November 14, 1795, in the Auguste Chouteau Collection.

memorial to Carondelet, stating that he was formerly an inhabitant of Canada, where he had for many years past carried on the chief part of the Indian trade. On account of the treaty which England and the United States had but recently signed — the Jay treaty — the frontier posts were to be handed over to the Americans the following June. Under this agreement the Americans would be empowered to trade with the Indians, attract them to their allegiance, and destroy the Illinois settlements except in those establishments where garrisons were then established.

At that moment, he declared, despite all the vigilance of the Spanish government, the traders from Michilimackinac were in possession of the trade of the "upper parts of this territory" (Spanish Louisiana). They were able to maintain their hold on this trade by means of the policy which Great Britain had always adopted of permitting the importation and exportation of goods duty free from Canada. This system enabled their traders, notwithstanding the length and difficulties of their journeys, not only to supply the whole of the Indian nations of Canada and on the headwaters of the Mississippi, but also to bring their goods to the very settlement of St. Louis. There they could undersell the resident merchants who brought their goods from New Orleans, to such a degree that for some time past merchandise, except a small amount of liquors, sugar, and coffee, had been imported from Canada. The whole of the peltries and furs of the country, which by nature were intended to pass through New Orleans, were diverted from their proper channels and sent by the lakes to Montreal and Quebec, where that trade not only gave employment to a considerable number of merchants and mechanics, but also added considerably to the importations of that colony, which now monopolized the whole of the fur trade and was always a nursery for the best seamen of the British navy.

Todd explained that this business must fall to the Americans after the transfer of the posts; and that the Americans would not fail to attract the Indians to their allegiance. If they should succeed, it would depend only on their own moderation how far they might extend their encroachments and illicit commerce, to the prejudice of the neighboring Spanish provinces west of the Mississippi.

Todd had, for a number of years past, had the greatest part of the Canadian trade in his own hands, and, by means of the traders he had employed, had formed connections with Indian chiefs personally attached to him, who in their councils advised him to apply to the Spanish government for permission to trade. He stated that he had it in his power to attach these Indians forever to the Crown of Spain. Instead of finding these natives dangerous and almost irreconcilable enemies, the Province might, by their assistance, be greatly defended in case of future hostilities with America; for the Indians had made peace with America only because they found themselves abandoned by Great Britain and they would be willing to sever connections as soon as they could draw their supplies from any other quarter.

The only other source from which supplies could be obtained was New Orleans, whence by means of the Mississippi River and its tributaries a communication was opened to the heart of the Indian country. But on account of the exorbitant duties exacted at New Orleans, which amounted to at least 21 per cent on all articles imported, any idea of carrying on a trade with the natives must be vain and useless (*debe ser vana é inutil*). The Americans, by means of the Ohio River, which was more available to their towns, had the same advantage that the British enjoyed at Michilimackinac, that of importing goods almost duty free, since the trifling charges exacted in America were always re-

turned to the merchants in refunds and bounties to those who sold their wares in the Indian settlements, in the same manner as is practiced in their trade to other foreign ports.

Todd wrote to Carondelet: "It is needless to point out the necessity of attaching to this country the neighboring Indians and bringing to it a considerable accession of trade through this means — for this purpose your petitioner offers himself, engaging to keep a good understanding between the Indians and to secure their attachment to the Crown of Spain and from settlements in any part which your Excellency may think it proper on being permitted to export and import the goods absolutely necessary for this trade duty free, and that he may be able to enter into competition with the American traders who otherwise must exclusively enjoy the whole of it to the prejudice of this country."[81]

In this letter to Carondelet, Todd also stated that if he were permitted to import the goods absolutely necessary for this commerce, and to export the furs and products of the country resulting from such trade without paying any more duty than the per cent duty established before the war, he would guarantee to send down the Mississippi, during the course of the year 1796, 4000 *"paquetes de peleterias"*, which, at the rate of 45 pesos each, would contribute to the royal treasury a sum of 10,800 pesos. In addition there would be the profits, the increase in population, industry, consumption, and navigation, and, finally, the exclusion of the American traders *"que se apoderian de todo este comercio con entero perjuicio de esta Provincia de la Luisiana e internas de Nueva Espana"*.

As proof of his character and of the extensive business he carried on with the Indians, Todd referred Carondelet

[81] This is not a literal translation.

to Lord Dorchester's letter written in his favor. If granted the privilege solicited, Todd agreed to go to Europe after making his commercial connections in New Orleans, and to return immediately with goods. He would show the Indians, before the Americans could arrive, that Spain would attend to them and protect them, and had already on that account permitted this importation of goods. He would adopt the most efficacious methods of attaching to the Spanish not only the Indians, but also the traders. These traders hesitated to order by the usual way of Canada, because they were unwilling to take the required oath of allegiance to the United States. They would readily swear allegiance to His Catholic Majesty on being advised by Todd of the success of his application.

The matter required immediate attention and a quick decision, for the posts were to be transferred to the United States in June, and Todd wished to have time to attend to his business affairs in New Orleans, go to Montreal, thence to Europe, and then import goods before the Americans got among the Indians.[82] At that time Carondelet had been thinking over matters concerning the ways and means of making Upper Louisiana a better and more profitable colony. He proposed to do this by allowing free trade, which would make all the settlements of Upper Louisiana prosper in a few years, by the subjugation of the Osage Indians undertaken by the Chouteaus, which Carondelet hoped would establish agriculture, and by the operation of lead, coal, and salt mines, which the natives had aban-

[82] Letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 18, 1795, Annex No. 6 to Carondelet's dispatch No. 65, *reservado,* New Orleans, January 8, 1796, in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900; Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia Santo Domingo 87-1-24, transcript in Bancroft Library (among the Intendant's papers relating to Todd's importation of goods dispatched to the Captain General of Cuba). A draft in English is in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2364.

doned along with their agriculture through fear of the Osages. By these things, and by fostering the work of the Missouri Company, Carondelet hoped to prevent England from entering the Upper Missouri and Mississippi regions.

It was, therefore, with pleasure that Carondelet met Andrew Todd in New Orleans. Carondelet, particularly after he had read Trudeau's letter of recommendation regarding the Scotchman, entertained him well and agreed to support his petition to the Spanish Court for the return to him of the value of the goods confiscated from him two years before. Indeed, Carondelet wrote to Trudeau, "while I was engaged in thinking about these important matters, I received the letter of recommendation you gave to Andrew Todd, whose arrival gave me the greatest pleasure, since if we can persuade him to establish a branch of his firm here, it is evident that we shall drive out the trade of Michel McKina". Carondelet wrote that letter on December 16, 1795.[83] Two days later Todd petitioned for the trade of the Upper Mississippi.[84]

On December 21, 1795, Governor General Carondelet and Francisco Rendon, the Intendant of Louisiana, conceded to Todd the requested privilege for one year, during which time the matter was to be brought to the attention of His Majesty. In making this concession, the Spanish officials had in mind the fact that Spain had at one time granted a similar privilege to William Panton, in order to keep the Indians friendly to Spain.[85] Carondelet wrote of this concession as follows:

> Inasmuch as by a decree of this day in regard to the petition

[83] Manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

[84] Decree of Carondelet and Rendon, New Orleans, December 21, 1795, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129.

[85] Whitaker's *The Spanish American Frontier.*

which Don N. (Andres Todd) has presented to us, we have judged it convenient to concede to him the permission which he asks, to provide the Indian Nations, from the Upper part of the Mississippi to the upper Missouri river: Therefore, we concede permission that during the course of one year he should be able to bring [import] merchandise or goods for the referred to trade with the Indians for which he should only have to pay six per cent import duty (de entrada). During which time His Majesty, whom we represent, should deign to decide that which shall be judged expedient for the Royal Service and welfare of the State.[86]

This action was necessary, because it was impossible to dispatch notice to the King and receive official confirmation before July, and that date would be too late, because the transfer of the posts to the Americans was scheduled for June, and it was indispensable that the goods necessary to provision the Indians be supplied before the Yankee traders arrived.[87]

On the very day that Todd received his concession, he addressed a letter to Carondelet stating that he was writing on his own behalf and also in the name of Nicholas Marchesseau and Josiah Bleakley. He recited the tale of the capture of their boats by the Spanish toward the end of October, 1793, and the confiscation of 7860 pesos worth of merchandise. Although they could not contest the right of Spain to capture them, they complained that it had been done without previous warning. The Indians had for years been supplied with merchandise from Michilimackinac in spite of the rule against it and the procedure had been ignored by the Spanish officials until this time. He admitted that the trade should have been provided for from

[86] Draft of letter from [Carondelet ?] to Clamorgan, New Orleans, December 21, 1795, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129.

[87] This is not found in the drafts of Todd's petition cited in the preceding note.

New Orleans; but he explained that on account of the great expense and the small capital of the inhabitants of St. Louis, it could not be carried on from St. Louis. Unless provision was made for this trade, the country would fall a prey to the Indian nations to the west and on the frontiers of Mexico.

Todd requested the return of the 7860 pesos, promising never to mix in that Indian trade except by legitimate means. The petitioner promised to place Spain in possession of the rich fur trade with the Indians of the West, to keep the Indians faithful to Spain, and to bring to the Spanish Illinois a considerable increase in commerce and population. On the margin of the letter Carondelet commented that Lieutenant Governor Trudeau had a right to send the expedition to stop the clandestine trade of England on the Mississippi. The only way that such trade could be stopped, said Carondelet, was by reducing the import and export duty on goods on the Mississippi to 6 per cent. This, added to the *libertad de comercio* granted to the colony since the beginning of the war, and the advantages which would accrue to the Royal Treasury would merit, said Carondelet, the favor which Todd solicited. He recommended the granting of the privilege which Todd requested.[88]

On January 8, 1796, Carondelet dispatched a letter to the Spanish Court and forwarded the documents relative to Todd. He thought the Missouri Company, aided by the government could rid the Upper Missouri region of the British, but even after that, there would still remain the problem of the British trading in the Upper Mississippi

[88] Letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 21, 1795, and Carondelet's notation in the margin, Annex No. 1 to Carondelet's dispatch, No. 65, *reservado,* Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. Todd's letter is also to be found in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129, and in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia Santo Domingo, 87-1-24.

region and with the Sioux, Sauteux, and Assiniboin and other Indians living to the northeast of the Missouri. These nations traded with the English, and robbed or killed Spanish traders. These facts naturally injected fear into the hearts of the Spanish traders, and they hesitated, or refused to go among those Indians.

The only way to overcome this would be to accept the proposition of Todd, an English merchant established at Michilimackinac, "who fearful of losing the profitable branch of the fur trade which he is carrying on with the nations located to the north of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers for the delivery of the posts on the strait and elsewhere agreed upon between the English and the Americans for the coming June, offered to transfer his house to Louisiana and carry on his business from there under the conditions which he mentions in the document that accompanies, number 6. From its contents Your Excellency will be informed of the powerful motives that urged the Intendant Don Francisco Rendon and me to grant this."

Carondelet urged many additional considerations in pressing Todd's request to the Court of Spain. Not only could Todd alone win the savage nations who resided to the north of the Missouri to devotion of Spain and thus free the Missouri territory from their depredations, but he was also one of the principal shareholders in the Spanish Missouri Company. He supplied the greater part of the merchandise and goods used on the Company's three expeditions, and on their return received in payment part of the skins. Because of this, Todd would assist as much as possible the undertakings of the Missouri Company; and his assistance would influence the nations of the Upper Mississippi and those north of the Missouri, who had traded with Todd's house for years and held him in great respect,

to cease their hostility and annoyances against the Spanish traders.

To explain this hostility of the Indians on the Upper Mississippi and the English trade with them, a letter from Clamorgan and Rheile was also dispatched.[89]

According to this letter, the British traders and merchants from Hudson's Bay, Michilimackinac, and Montreal had succeeded in usurping not only the profitable trade of the north but also that of the Spanish Illinois. They could supply and furnish that trade with goods priced much lower than the current prices of goods in New Orleans, in spite of the great expense and difficulties of transporting the goods so long a distance by land and water, and the twenty portages between Montreal and the Mississippi. Low duties aided them. Stopping this trade carried on so distant from New Orleans would cost the Royal Treasury a larger expense than it was worth, would expose the King's vassals to reprisals on the part of the savages, and the Court to complaints from England as incapable of adjustment as those sent by Lord Dorchester concerning the confiscation mentioned in the memorial concerning Andrew Todd.

On the other hand, if Spain were to accept Todd's offer, the motives for disagreement between the two Courts would cease to exist. Smuggling would cease, royal revenue would increase, not only by the whole value of duties paid on the goods taken up the Mississippi to the Illinois settlements for use of its inhabitants and for the Indian trade, but also by all the duties paid on the many furs by the Missouri Company and Todd on their departure from Valiza. All such articles until then had been sent to Canada and produced nothing for the Royal Treasury. Moreover, the settlement would grow, and its industries would be in-

[89] Published in translation in Houck's *Spanish Régime in Missouri,* Vol. II, pp. 173-178.

creased by all the traders, clerks, and sailors attracted from Canada. Louisiana's commerce and navigation would be increased. A line of forts would be built on the Missouri to extend to the South Sea.[90] These in time would become settlements, marking the boundary and protecting the Interior Provinces on the north against the encroachments of America and England.

Finally, Spain would deprive the United States of the friendship and alliance with the Indians residing near the Strait [Detroit], and bring them to the Spanish side. If Spain were as well assured of control over those Indians, as she was over those living to the south of the Ohio, "we should add this new obstacle to the advance of the English and the Americans toward us".

Todd's trade, it was inferred, would not be detrimental to the trade of Louisiana, or to the Missouri Company; for it was confined to the Indians living to the north of the Ohio and Missouri rivers. Carondelet and Rendon had long advocated the general reduction of the duties to 6 per cent. These provisions would increase the population, defense, and stability of Spanish Louisiana, and increase agriculture — objectives which Carondelet held indispensable to the development and welfare of Spanish Louisiana.[91]

On the same date he also dispatched a special message to the Principe de la Paz — Manuel Godoy. This letter was written as a special supplementary plea for the Spanish Court to confirm the privilege requested by Todd. Carondelet urged this particularly as a means of defending the frontiers of New Spain from the British and Americans.[92]

[90] See also Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri* in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1929, and March, 1930.

[91] No. 6, *reservado*, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900.

[92] Letter from Carondelet to Principe de la Paz, No. 66, *reservado*, New

The session of the *Consejo de Estado* (Council of State), held on May 27, 1796, dealt with the matters on which Carondelet had written his reports of January and early February of the year. After summarizing the problems and the evidence which Carondelet had presented, the Spanish Council of State, presided over by His Catholic Majesty, decided to approve the propositions presented by Carondelet. First, the Council approved the Missouri Company, and confirmed its exclusive trade privilege granted by the Governor General, and Carondelet's offer of a prize of 3000 pesos to the first person to arrive at the South Sea. Secondly, it granted permission to the Company to build forts at its own expense, and maintain 100 armed men in the forts which it had already established or contemplated erecting. Thirdly, it formally reduced import and export duties to 6 per cent, as proposed by the Governor General and Intendant General of Louisiana and already granted for one year to Todd, with the proviso that a close check be placed upon the records of such imports and exports, and a report be made upon it at the close of the first year. Fourth, it granted and confirmed Todd's petition, provided the latter establish himself immediately in Louisiana. And, finally, it authorized that one-third of the 7860 pesos lost by Todd in the confiscation of his goods by the Lieutenant Governor of the Illinois be returned to him.[93] Thus began in earnest Spain's attempt to protect and develop its colonies in the Upper Mississippi Valley by and with the aid of a British subject who by this time had already transferred his allegiance from His Britannic Majesty to His

Orleans, January 8, 1796, in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900.

[93] Minuta del Acta del Supremo Consejo de Estado, May 27, 1796, in Archivo Histórico Nacional. The decision of the Supreme Consejo de Estado may be found in many places both in manuscript and in print.

Catholic Majesty. We shall note the progress of this old Spanish policy.

After the grant to Todd had been approved, it appears Todd drew up a contract whereby he asked that the exclusive trade of the Upper Mississippi be given to him for ten years instead of the five — dating from the present time. He stipulated that it would be necessary to construct forts, and that 100 men would be used to support and protect them. He asked for free import and export duties, in order to compete with Americans whose goods came down the Ohio River. He asked that in case Spain transferred Louisiana to anyone, she would provide in the treaty of transfer for a one year contract with Todd, so that he would not be subject to ruin as in 1796. He also asked that flags, medals, etc., be given him by the government for the Indians, and also canoes for his forts. Carondelet approved these articles in part, but he insisted that for a number of the demands it was necessary for Todd to petition the Spanish Court.[94]

Immediately upon receiving his grant, Todd began to make preparations for plunging into his work. In his petition to Carondelet for trading privileges, Todd said that as soon as he could regulate his affairs and "*arreglar su comercio y correspondencia en este capital* [New Orleans]" he would go to Montreal, then to Europe, whence he would immediately return with goods, merchandise, etc., in an endeavor to supply the Indians of the Upper Mississippi before the Americans could reach them. He also promised that if his petitions were granted he would send 4000 packets of furs down the Mississippi during 1796.[95]

[94] The original of this contract, signed by Andrew Todd and containing ten articles, is in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 2371. It is undated and is so badly mutilated that it is well nigh illegible.

[95] Letter from Todd to Carondelet, New Orleans, December 21, 1795, Annex

It appears that Todd attempted to fulfil his contract. Whether or not he went to Europe is not known; but he did go to Montreal, and he did place orders for goods in London. It seems also that Daniel Clark was authorized to act as his agent in New Orleans. He ordered a considerable quantity of goods from Juan and Laurence Brickwood about February or March, 1796. On the 7th of May, Todd was in Montreal,[96] and on the following day he was scheduled to go to Michilimackinac, where he hoped to remain about two months, or until August 10th. From here he planned to proceed to St. Louis to which place he ordered Daniel Clark to address all his mail. He told his New Orleans correspondent that he would regulate affairs with him when he arrived in New Orleans in October — his plans being dependent upon the action of the Americans. It appears, too, that Todd's nephew, a Mr. Merry, had been sent by Andrew Todd to learn the business at New Orleans.[97]

The goods arrived in New Orleans at the beginning of August. But trouble then began. It appears that in addition to goods which Todd was to use for his trade with the Indians of the Upper Mississippi, other goods for use in New Orleans were imported. Clark declared that, according to the privilege granted to Todd, these goods were to pay only 6 per cent duty, but the Intendant and other Spanish officials decreed that the goods to be used in the Indian trade could be imported at 6 per cent but that the

No. 1 to Carondelet's dispatch No. 65, *reservado,* Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900; also in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 129.

[96] Todd had been in New York.

[97] Letter from Brickwood to Todd, London, March 11, 1796, and letter from Todd to Clark, Montreal, May 7, 1796, in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia Santo Domingo, 87-1-24. The papers relating to the unloading of the goods at New Orleans are in this legajo. A transcript is in the Bancroft Library. It appears that Loisel was also working in the interests of Todd.

rest must pay 15 per cent duty. Clark was allowed to land the goods under heavy bond.[98]

It seems, too, that Clamorgan, Loisel, and others entered into business with Andrew Todd. In September, 1796, in a petition to amend and extend the "Reglamento" of the Missouri Company, Clamorgan, the director, inserted Article 20 which read as follows:

> It will be permitted to Sr. Todd or his agents interested in St. Louis, under the denomination of Clamorgan, Loisel & Company, to furnish with merchandise the nations Sioux who frequent the north of the banks of the Missouri — with the proviso that this will not trouble the privileged commerce of the company.[99]

On the 11th of May, 1796, Carondelet informed Trudeau that the members of the Missouri Company were to be obliged to draw their merchandise from *"La Casa que dever establecer en S^n^ Louis D^n^ Andres Todd"*. According to Trudeau the privilege was solicited by Clamorgan without consulting the other members of the company. Indeed Clamorgan did it for his own interest, for he was associated with Todd *"O su Caxero en yllinois"*.[100]

By the 15th of April Trudeau had learned that Carondelet had conceded to Todd the privilege of the exclusive

[98] Letter from Morales to Pedro Varella Y Ulloa, No. 115, New Orleans, March 31, 1797, and many enclosures, in Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia Santo Domingo, 87-1-24. A transcript is in the Bancroft Library. See also letter from Carondelet to Principe de la Paz, No. 90, *reservado,* in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. Carondelet supported Clark's contention. See also letter of Trudeau to Morales, No. 11, St. Louis, April 14, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 261.

[99] Letter from Clamorgan to Trudeau, St. Louis, September 20, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajos 2364 and 188-3. This was granted under pain of confiscation of the goods, if the merchandise was used to injure the commerce of the Company. They were prohibited from selling the goods on the right bank of the Missouri.

[100] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, August 4, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 34. *"O su Caxero en yllinois"* means "or his agent in Illinois".

trade with the Indians on the Upper Mississippi. Todd had given the news to the Lieutenant Governor in the form of a letter which he had written to him and forwarded by Mr. Loisel. Trudeau was happy over the granting of the concession. He told the Governor General that "three excellent effects might follow the continuation of your goodness — for the prosperity of the Illinois and the Missouri Company, rivals will be ousted from Spanish territory, savages will be retained in their allegiance to Spain through control of commerce with them, and furs will increase our commerce". But Trudeau insisted that forts and settlements were necessary at the entrances of the Des Moines and St. Peter's rivers. These the Lieutenant Governor said he would supply, according to his means and plans.

Trudeau also reminded Carondelet that it was necessary for the Governor General to issue orders to him to draw upon the House of Todd established at New Orleans for all the needs of the Company. It was necessary, so Trudeau argued: (1) to assure the passage of furs *via* New Orleans; (2) to assure the zeal of the Maison Todd by tying doubly its interests with those of the Missouri Company; and (3) to draw from Canada men capable of the hard voyages, not available in Spanish territory.

Trudeau requested that Clamorgan, Loisel, or Todd should control the commerce of the Sac and Fox nations inhabiting the eastern shore of the Mississippi about 200 leagues above St. Louis. This trade should be included in Todd's contract, for Spain was trying to attract those Indians to the Spanish side and to get their furs. Already, Trudeau continued, the "Maison Todd" in Louisiana was attracting a portion of the furs of the Mississippi which had been destined for Canada. In fact the boat in which Loisel had just ascended the river from New Orleans was obliged to return at once because of the furs already ac-

cumulated, which had come from the diverse correspondents of Todd. "Time will demonstrate the happy acquisition of this Maison".[101]

Two weeks later Trudeau reported that the contract which the Spanish government had made with Todd had already resulted in 200 packets of furs, which would have taken the road to Mackinac, being transported down the river. Not only would Todd increase the traffic in furs, but he would also give a good price for flour and also sell clothing, etc., at better prices than "our little merchants".[102]

Eleven days later the Governor General answered the earlier letter of Zenon Trudeau in which he stated that "there are no objections in order that Mr. Todd embrace the exclusive trade of the Sac and Fox nations upon the east shore of the Missouri and even upon the said Missouri during the term of his contract but it is not convenient that it should extend to the western point before we know perfectly the force and position of the nations situated on the bank of the Said River".[103]

Since Todd had received the privilege, Trudeau considered that the government ought to aid him. Up to then the British had infested the Des Moines River to the practical exclusion of Spaniards. Trudeau decided that the government should protect Todd's *Caxeros* (traders) leaving St. Louis to enter the Des Moines River. This was

[101] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, April 15, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 212.

[102] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, May 1, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 193.

[103] Letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, May 11, 1796, a manuscript in possession of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Clark Collection. It is translated in *American State Papers, Public Lands,* Vol. VIII, p. 234. A number of the documents used in the preparation of this article are to be found in translation scattered throughout the eight volumes of the *American State Papers, Public Lands.*

to be done by dispatching a corporal and two soldiers to the Des Moines River, where they were to remain for two months for the purpose of ordering any Englishmen and Americans who attempted to penetrate the River Des Moines to retire *"Y no executandolo prenderlos embargando sus mercancias sirviendose de la gente qu^e^ tendra alli empleado Todd si se necesita mayor fuerza"*. This was done without incurring any expense to the royal exchequer, for Todd supplied the troops with all necessary provisions at his own cost.[104] These measures were approved by Carondelet.

On the 14th of October, Carondelet replied to Trudeau's dispatch mentioned above. In it the Governor General stated, in effect:

> It seems very good to me that Your Excellency has granted to Don Andres Todd *el Cabo* and two soldiers, as expressed in your official notice No. 210 [270] and that they are to remain in the Rio Moins [Des Moines] for two months in order to notify the English and Americans who wish to enter there to leave, and if they do not do so, to seize their goods, giving them to the people whom Todd will have employed there, even if force be necessary.[105]

By November the corporal and one of the two soldiers who had been sent to the Des Moines to prevent the English from entering had returned to St. Louis. The results hoped for did not materialize, for the British, upon being informed that the Spanish Lieutenant Governor had forbidden them to enter the Des Moines, merely laughed at the corporal and his two aids. The *Caxeros* of Todd wrote to Trudeau requesting that the government should protect them. But on account of the season and the expenses incurred in such

[104] Letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 270, St. Louis, September 22, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 34.

[105] Draft of letter from [Carondelet ?] to Trudeau, New Orleans, October 14, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 34.

undertakings, Trudeau decided to ask the advice of the Governor General. Several of Todd's traders had been forced to retreat in the face of rival traders because the Indians were under the influence of the British.[106]

Carondelet replied to this letter in February, 1797. He stated that war had been declared and that he had dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard to St. Louis. The latter would attend to the matter in accordance with his instructions.[107]

The government of Spanish Louisiana respected Todd's grant and when, in October, 1796, Dubuque applied for a grant of land in the Iowa country, Carondelet decreed that Todd must first pass on it. Todd approved of Dubuque's petition on October 29, 1796, on the condition that the petitioner be expressly forbidden to engage in trade without first procuring permission in writing from Todd.[108]

It seems that the notification which Carondelet gave to Trudeau in May, 1796, that the Missouri Company should procure all its goods from the House of Todd caused a great deal of dissension among the members of the company. When Carondelet was informed of the situation in Trudeau's letter of August 4th, he replied with the following statement:

[106] Of interest in connection with this point are the paragraphs recently written by L. H. Tohill in his biographical sketch of *Robert Dickson, Fur Trader,* in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly,* Vol. III, pp. 20, 21. Tohill's references indicate that he probably has reference to the period succeeding 1796, the limit of this study.

[107] Letters from Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 276, November 22, 1796, and from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, February 15, 1797; Annex No. 3 to Carondelet's dispatch No. 89, *reservado,* to the Principe de la Paz, [Godoy], Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, legajo 3900. Howard's instructions are printed in the Missouri Historical Society Collections, Vol. III, pp. 71-91. See Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country 1797-1798* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1930.

[108] *American State Papers, Public Lands,* Vol. III, p. 678.

When I arranged that the Company of Commerce of the upper Missouri should obtain its merchandise from the house of Don Andres Todd, provided that they should be of the same price and quality, as the others, I had in mind the greatest advantage of the Royal Treasury, whose laws the traders of upper Louisiana violate by securing goods from the English of Michelimakinak in contraband, which contributes besides this, to enrich that foreign establishment, and at the same time I realize that the Company, needing the influence of the House of Don Andres Todd over the Sioux Indians especially since they are to the north of the Missouri River, in order to obtain the free and pacific passage of their expeditions on this river, it was very convenient to the interests of the Company to ally itself with the House of Todd.

I see by the official letter that Your Excellency sent me on the 4th of last August, that this act has displeased many members of the Company, and not wishing them to have this apparent unjust pretext of attributing their losses to that act, I am anulling it immediately, but with the proviso that Your Majesty should cut off all kinds of commerce and trade with the English of Michelimakinak, confiscating all the goods which are found as contraband, and proceeding against their owners with all the rigor of the laws, since you are responsible and will be, for all the infringements which will result against the Royal Treasury which might come to my attention.[109]

It appears that Andrew Todd, after having remained for some time in Michilimackinac, returned to St. Louis, and then to New Orleans. Just when he arrived in the Spanish capital of Louisiana the writer does not know definitely. He had planned to arrive in New Orleans in October, and the writer believes that he did arrive some time late in October. On the sixth of November, Carondelet informed Gayoso de Lemos that General Collot was at Balize awaiting the arrival of "*el Bergantine en el que pasa Todd a*

[109] Letter from Carondelet to Trudeau, New Orleans, November 9, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 23.

New York''. Todd, however, did not leave New Orleans, for before he had been there fifteen days, he was stricken with an attack of yellow fever. On the 14th of November Carondelet wrote *''el pobre D^n^ Andres Todd esta a la hora agonizando lo que siento infinito por el perjuicio que resultara de su muerto a la alta Luisiana y a la Comp^ia^ del Missouri''*.[110] On December 1, 1796, Intendant Morales reported officially to Diego Gardoqui that Todd had died. Intendant Morales wrote:

Among the individuals who have lately had the misfortune to be victims of the epidemic which in the letter of October 31st, No. 47, I advised you was afflicting this Province, and which at this time, thanks to the Omnipotent, seems nipped by the rains, although light, and cold spell which we are having, fate struck Don Andrew Todd, to whom His Majesty by Royal Order of June 11th of this year was pleased to grant the exclusive trade with the Indian Nations established to the North of the Ohio and Missouri. This young and robust Irishman had come down from Illinois to arrange his accounts with his correspondent in this Capital, give his orders for the shipment from Europe of the equipment necessary for his traffic, and return immediately towards the North; but before he was in the town for fifteen days the contagion attacked him and within five days he was buried.

His death, if his successors or associates do not obtain the same privilege and carry out the same projects, besides undoing the favorable results which were the cause of the granting of the privilege, is a mortal blow for the Spanish Company of Discoveries to the West of the Mississippi. Todd it was who had the greatest number of shares of stock, and who, moreover, on account of the

[110] Morales said that Todd had come to New Orleans to arrange his accounts with his correspondent in New Orleans, and intended to return northward immediately. — Letter from Morales to Gardoqui, New Orleans, December 1, 1796, a manuscript in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis), Spanish Archives No. 99, published in *Missouri Historical Society Collections,* Vol. IV, pp. 13, 14; letters from Carondelet to Gayoso de Lemos, November 6, 14, 1796, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo 23.

extensive plans to gather and secure all the peltries of that Territory, had advanced to the Company the value of eighty thousand dollars in goods adapted to the trade with the Indians; and if his heirs, creditors or companions should demand the payment, the Company would undoubtedly remain without means to continue its operations.[111]

Todd's death was a mortal blow to the Spanish attempt to exclude the English from the territory between the Mississippi and the Missouri. From this blow the Spanish never fully recovered. True it is that, during the war scares of 1797 and 1799-1800, Spain attempted by force to oust the British, but it never succeeded in keeping them out permanently. Despite the fact that Clamorgan, Loisel and Company took over the trading privileges before granted to Todd, they were never successful. As Trudeau aptly put it, "Clamorgan had neither the experience nor the means" to carry out the projects which Todd had undertaken.[112] Todd's heirs attempted to secure what Todd had coming to him and to this end Mr. Merry and Mr. Swan were sent to collect, but both failed.[113]

Clamorgan stated [114] that he was carrying on the work of Todd, but Trudeau, upon the death of Andrew Todd,

[111] Letter from Morales to Gardoqui, New Orleans, December 1, 1796. This, of course, is a translation.

[112] Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, May 6, 1798, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

[113] Letter from Isaac Todd to Trudeau, Michilimackinac, June 27, 1797 (English and Spanish translation), enclosed in letter from Trudeau to Carondelet, St. Louis, July 21, 1797, manuscripts in the Bancroft Library. Draft of letter from [Carondelet ?] to Trudeau, New Orleans, October 17, 1797, in Papeles de Cuba, legajo, 131; Quaife's *John Askin Papers,* Vol. I, p. 375. See also Nasatir's *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in the Iowa Country 1797-1798* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, July, 1930.

[114] Letter from Clamorgan to Trudeau (?) St. Louis, June 18, 1798, a manuscript in the Bancroft Library.

gave up all hope of Spain's permanently gaining the Indian trade of the Upper Mississippi Valley.[115] Another chapter of the history of the Anglo-Spanish frontier was closed.

ABRAHAM P. NASATIR

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
SAN DIEGO CALIFORNIA

[115] Letter from Trudeau to Gayoso de Lemos, May 6, 1798, manuscript in Bancroft Library. Great Britain held the trade until after the War of 1812.

PIONEER LIFE IN JONES COUNTY

In the year 1851, John George Krouse settled on a farm in what is now Madison Township, Jones County, Iowa. He was originally from south Germany but had lived near Dundee, Illinois, for seven years before coming to Iowa. His family consisted of his wife, Margaret, and their seven children — George, Anna, Mary, Jane, Emily, John, and Esther.[1] The Krouses were a hard-working, hospitable, Christian family, and were dependable in every way.

Two years later, M. O. Felton, a young clock peddler from Indiana, came through the county. At Scotch Grove, a settlement of Manitoba Scotch, Felton lost his horse and was obliged to look for some other means of earning a living. He soon found a position as a school teacher and is said to have been the first teacher paid by a public tax in Madison Township. Anna Krouse was one of the pupils at the school and soon a romantic attachment developed between the young teacher and the girl.

Felton's father came west to enter land for a home, but a letter called the son back to Indiana at the time and the two passed each other on the way. In spite of the absence of the son, the older man entered the southwest quarter of Section ten, Madison Township. This was not, unfortunately, one of the best pieces of land to be had.

The following summer M. O. Felton returned to Iowa and he and Anna Krouse were married on August 29, 1854. This is said to have been the first marriage of white people

[1] In later years George John Krouse married Margaret Overley and John married Jane Wasson. Mary Krouse became Mrs. Isaac Overley; Jane, Mrs. Eliphalet A. Nichols; Emily, Mrs. William H. Reed; and Esther, Mrs. George Pangburn.

in the township. Having no means to begin farming the young couple returned to Indiana but before they arrived there his father died. For a time Felton stayed in Indiana, farming in the summer and teaching school in the winter, but in the fall of 1856 they came back to Iowa in a covered wagon, bringing with them their first child, a daughter.

That winter — one of the worst known to the oldest inhabitants — they stayed in the Krouse home. Before spring Mr. Krouse died, but undaunted by the loss the Feltons built a little shack on the land entered by his father and began housekeeping in the spring. Eight children were born in this home: Margaret, born on June 15, 1855; George Leslie, on November 12, 1857; Alfred Nichols, on January 27, 1860; Oliver John (the writer), on February 22, 1863; Charles Wesley, on October 31, 1865; Anna W., on December 31, 1867; Harlan Philips, on December 21, 1871; and William Reed, on November 10, 1874.

Their house was located about the center of the quarter section with some large shellbark hickory trees nearby. A spring such as those found along every draw afforded good water. Their first bed was made by nailing poplar poles to the wall on one side and supporting the free ends on a larger pole at the other — a one-legged bed as it was called. Mrs. Krouse loaned them cattle to break some of the land for the first crop of wheat — seven yoke in a string with a plow cutting and turning thirty inches. They had to make a right or Gee turn at the corners, swinging outward in a circle each time.

There were few laid out roads. All traffic followed the ridges as far as possible, avoiding the draws which were wet and boggy and only crossed to get from one ridge to another. There were no bridges: all streams had to be forded. The old Pike's Peak trail from Clinton ran through this farm and we children saw many going west following

the same old trail. It is still visible and we older people can go to it any time and see again the slow emigrant wagons with their white covers, a tar bucket hanging from the rear axle and usually a tired dog walking under the wagon. In the middle sixties, these wagons were mostly drawn by horses, if they belonged to land seekers. A cow or two and perhaps a horse followed, in charge of a boy or man. The travelers usually camped out and the settlers were very kind to them, seldom making any charge for what they needed for man or beast. Few of them ever took anything without asking or made any trouble.

Farming consisted mostly of raising spring wheat of a bearded tea[2] variety. This was mostly sown on fall plowing. A bushel and a half to the acre was sown by hand, the sower following stakes with a white rag for a marker. The field was then dragged. The drag consisted of three wooden bars on each side, each bar set with iron teeth one foot apart. The two parts were joined by an iron hinge. The drag was eight feet wide and was pulled by a team of horses with the hitch at the corner so that no teeth followed in the line of those just ahead. Each time the drag was lapped one-half. This usually covered the grain as the ground was all new and was very fertile and worked easily. A boy from seven years old up usually drove the team with the drag, for there were more children than anything else in many of these early homes. They were put to work at a very early age, and woe to the boy who loitered or crowded the drag to cover the ground more quickly. Oats were sowed in the same manner.

Corn was planted in the most primitive fashion. The ground was plowed and then dragged, after which it was marked off by a wooden marker consisting of three two-

[2] This was Arabian or Russian wheat, as contrasted with bald varieties.

inch oak runners with boards nailed across to hold them together and hounds nailed on so the wagon tongue could be used to draw it. Then the driver took the straightest side of the field and drove across, setting stakes at each end and in the middle at proper intervals to make all rows uniform. When this was finished the field was crossed by the same marker fast enough to keep the planters busy between showers, for it usually rained a good deal in May, the planting month.

Then the planting began. At first, when the children were young, the neighbors changed work, so they could be together and visit while working. The talk usually concerned politics and other neighborhood matters, even gossip, but mostly religion. Our neighborhood was intensely religious, and mostly Methodists from Ohio and Indiana, although a few Scotch to the west and east were Presbyterians of the old school.

The women or children did the dropping which consisted of following the mark and dropping three or four kernels in each cross made by the marker. The men followed with hoes and covered the kernels, adding a few seeds to fill any missed hills, but the dropper who missed a hill soon heard of it and the old Puritan lash or switch was often used as a reminder. Some patted the hill with the hoe blade while others tread on it. Wet or muddy ground was never planted until dry.

When the corn showed three or more blades cultivation commenced. The tool was a wooden beam plow with one very large diamond-shaped shovel or two small ones pulled by one horse. It went twice between the rows. When a boy got big enough to use this tool he thought he was quite a man, but if he left any hill covered or allowed the horse to tramp it down or plow it out, there was trouble. The water carrier was a censor of all mishaps or carelessness.

This cultivation was carried on until the corn was in bloom, or silk they called it, when it was "laid by" and the harvest of the small grain was begun.

About the time of the Civil War, my father used a hand rake reaper called the Dunleith. It was mounted on four wheels — a master wheel, a small wheel to support the platform, and two wheels in front. The master cog was attached to the spokes of a large wooden wheel with a bevel cog around the outside, driving the sickle with the same motion as now. The reel was driven by means of a leather rope running over a grooved wheel attached to the master cog and connecting with a smaller wheel on the center of the reel.

The driver was seated on a spring seat ahead of the master cog and as high as the shaft of the reel. The seat was carried on the two wheels that worked independent of the reaping machinery, as in the case of some modern dray wagons. The grain fell on a platform partly covered with black tin. The man who raked the grain off the platform sat at the center of the rear end of the platform on a stool, with a barrier in front of him to keep him from falling on the platform while raking the grain to one side. He had to be careful not to let the bundles get too large or get his fork caught in the reel or sickle, and the work required great physical strength and endurance.

The binders followed the reaper, binding each gavel into a bundle with a band made of a handful of grain stalks. Children then came along and placed the bundles in convenient piles, usually twelve each. How heavy they were for a small boy! Next came the shockers. Two cap sheaves were placed on top of the shock to keep out the rain. These cap sheaves were broken in the middle and spread one above the other crossways and, if no hard wind came, they kept the grain dry and bright. If they were blown off or

the shock upset, it had to be reset after the harvesting was done.

Then came the stacking. Nearly everyone stacked, for separators were scarce and one had to wait his turn. These stacks were placed at some convenient spot, usually near a shed, waiting for threshing. After stacking, farmers waited for the grain to go through the sweat, as they called it, a drying process that all grain takes in this climate either in the stack or bin.

Between stacking and threshing some hay had to be cut. This was done with a scythe on wild land, mostly in the draws, where the grass was thickest. If a man cut a swath across the upper and lower end of a draw, it would be his and so respected, but a man never tried to "hog" things so there was plenty for all. After the grass was cut and dry it was raked together by hand and cocked up in small piles, then hauled and stacked. People did not cut much hay; the straw piles fed what stock was kept.

Haying done, the "boo" of the thresher was soon heard and what a time that was for the youngsters, and for the old as well. The threshing crew was looked upon with as much awe as the crew of an airplane is today. They were usually young men of a rough type. Threshing was done by horsepower. The separator was a "Sweepstakes", about the same as now, but without any blower, feeder, measurer, or other frills. The power was a master cog turning on a small cog. This mechanism could be hoisted from the ground by two rollers to move from place to place. When set it had to be staked down with eight stakes to hold it in place. Five sweeps were inserted in it like the spokes of a wagon. A team was hitched to the outer end of each sweep, making ten horses. The threshers put on their three teams, the farmer his, and one of the neighbors might furnish a team.

The two green teams usually tried to do it all at first but soon came down to a slow drill in the center. A man or boy with a whip in hand usually drove the outfit and was the clown of the gathering. Between whistling, urging, and swearing he kept the work going. If a sudden stop was needed, a man got to the head of each farm team and the feeder crowded the bundles to choke the separator. The horses of the threshers usually stopped at the word of the driver.

The boss of the machine did the feeding. The bundles were tossed to him by a man, called the table man — sometimes there were two — whose duty it was to keep plenty of bundles on the table, heads to the cylinder. Other men handed bundles to the table man. A band cutter, usually a boy, was beside the feeder to cut the bands. This was a hard job and I still wonder why a boy was put at it. He used a common jack-knife and the straw in the bands soon dulled it. The knife was liable to hit the fingers of the feeder (I have done it myself), if the boy became tired or hurried, and sometimes two boys alternated in the cutting. If straw was wanted a stacker and several boys took care of the straw. This was a hard and dirty job; one had to work like a machine. How I have wished something would break, to give us a rest.

The measurer was at the side of the separator with two wooden half-bushel measures. To keep track of the number of bushels he had before him a board with twenty holes at the top, ten below, and five at the bottom. When one measure was full he moved the twenty plug to the right one count. When it had been moved clear across, the ten plug was moved to the right one count. This meant ten bushels. In the same way the hundred plug was moved to the right when 100 bushels had been measured. The measurer had to be a man of mature years, very just, and

not the owner, so that he would be fair to both parties. It was his business also to see that the grain was clean and not wasted in poor separation.

The owner was usually at the bin seeing that there was no chance of waste. Most people, being poor, had no granaries and had to build rail pens. These were lined with slough hay and made very good storehouses if cattle were kept away from them. Children too small to be of any help were perched on the tool wagon watching the show in high glee. The man who carried the grain to the bin had a hard job, carrying a bushel of wheat or one and a half bushels of oats at a time. Handling from three to six hundred bushels in a day in this way was no easy work.

Finally dinner was called and everyone "hollered" "Whoa" and started for the house and the wash basin, except the teamster, who had to feed the horses. Dinner was served at a long table seating from ten to fourteen, on which were well boiled peach blow potatoes, stewed chicken, gravy, homemade bread and butter, coffee, and dried apple or dried currant pie with Orleans sugar for sweetening. Everyone made a man at the table. After dinner the young fellows indulged in feats of strength, such as standing in a half-bushel measure and shouldering a two bushel bag of wheat or holding out at arm's length a sledge weighing from fifteen to twenty pounds to see who could hold it thus the longest. Finally the boss of the gang would shout, "Horses on!" and the same process began anew. When one threshing job was finished, the machine was moved to a neighbor's. All the farmers changed work for money was scarce till some wheat was sold and there was little hired labor. The threshing charge was five cents for wheat and three for oats.

Threshing was often enlivened by fights. On one occasion a farmer put a boy whom some neighbor had sent

to do the stacking. The boy went about the work carelessly. Finally the owner went up to right things. Before long both came rolling down by the stacker in a rough and tumble, but they were separated and the work went on. At dinner, as was the custom, the farmer wanted to ask the blessing but felt he should make some amends for the trouble. "I think before I proceed I should apologize for what happened this forenoon", he said, and continued that it would have been all right but when he got on the straw the boy insulted him. At this the boy jumped up and called him a liar and another fight was started, but it was stopped and the meal proceeded without a blessing.

By the time threshing was over the corn was ready for cribbing. The last year's rail pen was overhauled and a bottom of rails made so the ears would not drop through. A hog was killed for meat, a little wood cut, and the husking began. The father took two rows on one side, the oldest boy at home two rows on the other, and a smaller boy the down row. Every silk and husk must be removed from the ears before they were thrown into the wagon and the father kept watch for missed ears. When the box — usually just a wagon box holding about fifteen or twenty bushels — was filled, the wagon was driven to the crib where all picked the ears out of the hind end by hand until the scoop could be used.

The most likely looking ears were picked out, carried to the house, and stored in the garret next to the chimney for next year's seed. We seldom had any poor seed, but one year it was found that much of the corn saved for seed was worthless. Railroads were far apart and there were no regular dealers any place; but the resourceful Yankee farmers, my father among them, found that one side of an ear might be good but the other poor. They picked the best looking ears and shelled them. Then they put

the kernels in a tub of warm water and in twelve hours the good kernels which showed growth were picked out and planted, care being used to put moist dirt on each hill.

In this way he got a good stand of corn and good quality in the fall. It was an awful job to handle the seed, for it kept growing and the sprouts tangled up so it was hard to pick out and drop the kernels. If there had been larger fields to plant it would have required lots of labor. The more fortunate who had friends in the East had seed sent them, mostly from Pennsylvania. That seed, however, not being acclimated, did not get ripe or fill out well; but in the course of years this corn mixed with the home grown and made a good improvement.

After the corn was picked, the visiting commenced and lasted intermittently until spring. The men, having such hard work all summer and no labor saving machines, were ready for a rest. There was usually snow and the families went in the sled in a wagon box partly filled with straw, with bed quilts for cover on the trip. On week days the groups usually included only the children not of school age — from one to three. The women sewed or quilted, and the men talked and chewed tobacco, spitting in the hearth of the stove or on the floor. Neither was counted out of order for both chewing and spitting were the common custom. The general conversation was neighborhood news of new babies, sickness, or the stock on the farm, but mostly religion, for our neighborhood was pious.

The nearest market for grain down to 1872 was at Lowden, on the North Western Railroad, twenty-five miles south. The small grain, mostly wheat, was sacked in stark A bags with every man's name on his bags and was drawn in wagons. Some of them were made in the local towns but most of them were Schuttler wagons from Chicago having skein or metal bearings with Fraser axle grease for lubri-

cation. The old tar wooden spindles were mostly gone, only the poor men using them. The trip back lasted from two o'clock in the morning until midnight. Food for the horses and for the men was carried along. Muddy sloughs, creeks, and the Wapsipinicon River had to be forded.

The usual price was a dollar a bushel for wheat, and about twenty-five cents for oats. Wheat ran from twenty-five to thirty-five bushels per load.

The houses were strongly built. First a frame of native hard wood was put up, strong enough for a fort. The half inch pine siding was nailed directly to the studding. The roof sheeting was of oak and was covered with oak shingles that warped badly. While this roof turned water, sifting snow would come through and had to be removed or it would spoil the plaster which was lime and hair. The finish — casing, sash, molding, doors — was all made on the ground. A thin strip, called a bat, was sometimes laid under each crack in the floors.

The houses were nearly all rebuilt during the Civil War and for the time were very good, although they had no modern improvements. A first quality house was usually ell-shaped with the main part a story and a half high. The ell was one story and contained a kitchen and a bedroom. In the main part was a large parlor with a spare bedroom and an inclosed stairway next to the buttry or pantry, as the people called it, from which the celler was reached from the inside. The upstairs had two rooms where the older children slept. There was usually a cellar under the kitchen with an outside entrance, for there was much to store in it.

The most important piece of furniture was a common four-cap cook stove in the kitchen — the main workshop and living quarters for the family — and unless sickness or visitors came, this was the only fire in the house. The

bedroom had a four-poster corded bedstead under which, in the daytime was a four-poster trundle bed which was drawn out for the smaller children that needed care during the night. A tick filled with straw was the mattress, with sometimes a feather bed on top of this. One sheet, one or more heavy cotton comforts, a cotton homemade quilt, and pillows of goose or duck feathers furnished the parents' bed. Hen feather pillows might serve for the children. The parlor had a heating stove, usually a rag carpet, and homemade curtains, but no shades. The house was lighted by candles or one smoky oil lamp but that must be used very sparingly and not at all by the children; they had a grease lamp, simply a common tea saucer full of hog fat with a cotton string sticking over one edge.

There were no barns until about the middle 70's, although farmers built sheds for their stock, if they could. Crotches — that is large timbers with a fork — were set in the ground in rows about nine feet apart, so a ten-foot rail would span the distance. Three rows were thus set with the middle row the highest. Rails formed the framework of the roof, resting on the crotches, with cross pieces to hold up the slough grass or wild hay which formed the roof. The north, west, and east sides were usually stockaded with rails. Sometimes the south side of the east end was large enough to shelter two teams of work horses and was entirely inclosed. When the threshing was done the sides were often completely covered with straw. The bulk of the straw was left in the stack at the west end. In the winter all the young stock, the cows, the sheep, and even the chickens were sheltered in these sheds. Some poles near the top furnished roosts for the chickens when it got too cold for them to roost outside.

Here the milking was done. The cows ran loose but not very many of them were kept and usually none were milk-

ing during the cold months of December, January, February, and March. The farmers seldom had any winter calves or pigs. As a consequence, most people were out of milk during the first three months of the year and I have known people to go miles for buttermilk or to buy butter, but they all had plenty of lard and pork.

Some packed butter for winter. It had but little value, since it was sold for from six to fifteen cents per pound. There were no eggs from September to March. During the summer months eggs sold for from five to seven cents per dozen in trade. Orleans sugar was ten cents per pound; coffee, forty; Young Hyson tea, eighty; calico, ten cents a yard; Kentucky jeans, forty cents per yard; hickory shirting, twenty cents; and boots for men, four dollars. Men did not wear shoes. In the winter the small boys had boots or shoes of common cowhide with red or yellow tops in front and a copper plate at the toe. As we had so much snow in the winter and dews and rain in the fall and spring the leather would shrink and the boots or shoes had to be kicked on in the morning and this tended to ruin them. In the morning you could hear the boys kicking on the mop boards — base boards, they call them now, since they have carpets and don't mop every day — to get their shoes on.

All the clothing for the entire household was made at home and until about 1870 all by hand. There was little wool except for mittens and hose, which were knit at home. Goods absolutely needed and not made at home were usually bought in the fall when the grain was sold. Boots, shoes, and gaiters were needed for the family. The children's feet, owing to going barefoot, grew very fast and shoes were often too small and had to be exchanged. Then there was trouble, for we boys feared that if the shoes were taken back there would be no return.

The hogs were all killed at home and hauled to Dubuque

fifty miles away and sold at from one and a half to three cents per pound. Occasionally a big steer or two would be sold at two years old for twenty dollars or more per head and no scales were used. We had every animal named and usually kept the she stuff until it died of old age.

I was a man grown before I ever saw any corn sold on the market. A quarter section would raise from five to fifteen acres of corn. The land being new produced well and made enough to feed all a man needed through the cold months. Then he did without until the new crop. Oats were used for horse feed mostly. Not one farmer in ten would have an ear of corn from May till fall. Of course some would but then as now they were the more thrifty. There was no meat except now and then a chicken. We never fed or watered the chickens and they had to get on as wild game and were about as wild. It took a good dog to catch one.

For fruit a few of the first settlers, among them my grandmother Krouse, Eliphalet A. Nichols, mother's sister's husband, and a few more, planted apple seeds and had seedlings and some few trees were good. Most of the winter varieties were of small size and a sort of parody on the wild crab apple. The women dried pumpkin and we boys called it tobacco and carried it around, and if not caught chewed it. There was no canned fruit. Wild strawberries were plentiful some seasons. Blackberries, except along streams, were usually all dried up.

Where there was plenty of timber, the fencing was of rails from the ground up and worm fashion. On the prairie, however, they often drove crotches in the ground to carry the first rail. This was about eighteen inches from the ground. Two stakes were then crossed above each crotch, the bottom end of each being driven some six inches in the ground a short distance from the bottom of the crotch.

These formed a second crotch, higher than the first one. A second rail was laid diagonally with one end in a lower crotch and the other in the next upper crotch formed by the two stakes. A third rail was then laid in the two upper crotches, making a three rail panel. This was the Indiana method.

Some Kentuckians split the posts as flat as they could and then dressed them to about two inches thick and bored two holes together, split out the middle and sharpened the rails and put them in as bars. This made a very good fence but took lots of labor. Iron nails were high and the Kentuckians were taught this method when there were no nails except those made by hand in the country. The farmers fenced only the cultivated land, for there was only a small amount of land cultivated and it was easier to fence stock out of the fields than in the pastures. Much of the land was held by eastern speculators.

Another item of farm life was milling. In my time, we were within eight miles of Corbet's Mill on a fork of the Maquoketa, not a long drive from home. The miller took in toll or pay every seventh bushel of the grain and made a very good grade of flour and meal. It was a great treat to go to the mill but only the ones too little to do anything at home were granted the privilege. One time, however, when I was a small boy, my father took me and my two older brothers along to fish while we waited for the grist. He got some small hooks and two lines and cut them in two so we each had a hook and line. We had dug some fish worms — or angle worms — and father put one on my hook attached to a pole cut on the bank and set me on the bank or a stump but did not tell me what to do.

I could feel the fish bite but did not know what to do and we were admonished to keep quiet. Finally I lifted the fish clear out of the water and father hollered, "Throw

him over on the bank!'' I did not know what he meant, but instinctively threw my prize on the shore and saved him. He was a nice perch and I was about the biggest boy for a while that ever stood on that bank. We got a fine string but never since has a fish caused me the thrill of that one. I found a good two-blade jack-knife on the bank that day but it did not interest me, so I gave it to father. The water was very clear and we could see the schools of soft fish in countless numbers everywhere and the rock bass scooting after them. When we were ready to go home we saw the dam and the water fall. I have since seen the great falls but they did not seem as remarkable to me as that small stream appeared to a little boy who had never seen anything but land and small creeks.

At first the cattle were turned out on the wild prairie, where they roamed about, located only by sight or by the tinkling of the bells. The cattle of a large neighborhood would bunch up during the day and wander over a wide territory but when evening came, they gradually wandered toward their own home, partly from habit and partly because some of the cows had calves at home. No two bells sounded alike. Every man knew his bell by sound.

As time passed and the free land disappeared, each man's herd was kept near home in a fenced pasture. Only those who could afford it had oak board fences; most of the fences were of smooth wire. This sufficed if the land was not too heavily pastured, but when the grass got dry in July the cattle would go through such fences into the crops so they had to be herded. I, being the boy not big enough to help on farm work, was the herdsman. Now picture if you please, a barefoot boy between six and seven years old taking the cows to pasture as soon as they were milked and staying till about sundown with no companions but the black shepherd dog, Dash.

There were no holidays or Sundays, and at times hard rains compelled me to get under hazel brush or a tree to find shelter. At noon, Charley, a younger brother, would bring a noon meal which was the same as the others, only cold, and for drink the water from any slough or spring had to do. This was a rough life and I got as rough as the treatment. At this time I went neither to day nor Sunday school though I saw other boys going to school or to mill and playing around home.

At the same time I learned all about the names and habits of birds from father. I knew where they nested, the number of their settings, color of eggs, habits of feeding, and the times of their coming and departure. None of the water birds nested here but I could see them passing at almost any hour. I knew how to find the dens of many animals, how they made them, and what the animals lived on.

Not least of these were the snakes. The snakes soon left the pastured ground, so there was not much danger from them there, but if you had to go into some slough or non-pastured field you might run into them. One day in August I saw the faithful dog going around a tree top full of dry leaves, which had been left after the log had been cut off. I saw him turn his head to one side, ears forward, and then I heard a mighty hiss and I saw a snake strike at him and still hiss. I knew by the sound that it was a bullsnake, but of what a gigantic size! I ran away but did not dare leave the cattle. The dog kept at the snake energetically but could not get hold of him.

In about an hour Charles came with my dinner and I told him of the size of the snake and how he acted. He went home and my two older brothers came down. By this time the snake was somewhat tired but could still strike about four feet which seemed more to us. Finally George, the

oldest of the boys, struck the snake with a fence stake and the dog grabbed him. The reptile was so heavy the dog could not shake him, but he was finally killed. He measured about eight feet and was as large around in the center as a tea saucer. That was my greatest snake scare. While such snakes were not poisonous, the memory of that infernal hiss has never left me. I have seen many snakes since but none as large as this. Since it was late in the summer, I presume he was well fed and fat.

Then there were the skunks. Our dog *would* dig them out. At one time the two Overley boys, cousins of ours, were there when the dog dug out an old one. I had no fear when the dog was after it, for their dens were shallow and short. When the dog grabbed the old one I was closer than I would be now, for a very good reason. I saw five little kittens as pretty as any two-week old cats. I grabbed two of them and started for the Overleys to show them but they never stopped until they got home. That night my mother gave me orders not to bring such a smell to the house again.

Prairie chickens were thick. In the months of March and April, the writer has seen two large trees with every space on the limbs full of prairie chickens and the ground for an acre space as thick as they could stand, but no hunter could get within gunshot of them. Before you accuse me of exaggeration, ask any man or woman over fifty who lived in eastern Iowa for verification. Now you can drive all over the State and never see one. In the month of July their nests could, with a little care, be found in the grass on almost any hill. They had from twelve to sixteen eggs in a setting. These eggs were about the same size as those of guinea chickens, but were plain white.

On the Slocum quarter section next east of our old home there was a buffalo wallow. We called it a buffalo den. The buffalo had been gone fifty years before the land was settled

but this den in the sixties was still bare of grass on its sides and was about one acre in area. There was a circular opening on the south slope on a gradually sloping hill. The banks were about eight feet deep and very straight up on three sides. It is still plainly visible but in the early seventies the blue-grass came in the country and the sides were soon covered with it. The hole is still there. It is on the northwest quarter of the southeast quarter of Section 11, Township 84, west of the Fifth Principal Meridian, Madison Township, Jones County.

As in all new countries, the people married young. When a young man attained his majority his work with his father was ended and he usually went to work for a neighbor by the month, for that was about all the work there was. A good strong man got twenty dollars per month from March first till corn was gathered in November following, with only Fourth of July out. Most men got less than this.

The wardrobe of a farm hand consisted of one store suit, a pair of fine boots with heels as high as the women wear them now, one white, starched-bosom shirt, and a box of paper collars. This was for Sunday. For every day he had two homemade hickory cloth shirts, a blouse and two pairs of overalls, plow boots, two pairs of coarse cotton hose and an old hat or winter cap. This was the average; some had more, many less.

He got room and board with the family and washing. If his employer had no cash he was obliged to wait until something was sold in the fall but he could usually buy his tobacco and other little things from the village merchant on time.

The work consisted of chores and wood cutting, breaking colts and the like till the ground was ready for planting, which usually lasted from the last of March through April and May. Then there was plowing corn till harvest and

after harvest, threshing, hauling manure, fall plowing, and husking. Many of the hired men saved the greater part of their earnings and as soon as they had the price of a team and wagon they were ready to get married and start farming for themselves.

The more thrifty fathers of the boys coming of age gave them such outfits and they married at once. The bride was expected to have one year's clothing, furniture for one bedroom, and a stove with the necessary utensils for cooking, and if her parents were of average standing, a cow and a calf worth about twenty dollars. The rest of the relatives usually got them some chickens and other small things. This equipment was the best, many had much less. The wedding was a small affair with only a few friends present and a substantial supper. A charivari was considered almost a necessity, and a couple felt slighted unless the boys put one on. Boys from twelve years old up and all the men turned out with everything that would make a noise and with much prairie lung power. They gave one blast. If there was no response they repeated this, until the groom came forth with the bride and a treat of apples, candy, or tobacco.

SCHOOLS

Of course we had our schools. Father was the first director of No. 1, known as the Wasson school, because one John Wasson lived near it, a Scotchman by birth and a generation older than the rest of the people in that district. This house was a frame building, fourteen by eighteen feet, one story high and built the same as the dwellings. It faced the east. Along each wall were three desks large enough for two people, the front of one serving as the back of the seat in front. The desks in the center were large enough for four pupils. One long bench along the entire rear wall

formed the seat for the back row of desks. These desks were all of white pine without paint or varnish.

In one corner of the front of the room was the teacher's desk. The floor here was raised about six inches as a mark of distinction. The front of the side desks and one long desk opposite the teacher's desk were used for recitations although the pupils often stood for class work. A large wood stove was in the center of the front of the room. A blackboard of boards painted black completed the equipment. Three windows on each side gave light.

The boys were usually seated along the north side — that being the colder in the winter — and the girls on the south. The little ones sat in front or in the center section with older brothers or sisters.

We all carried our dinner in pails made for the purpose. The dinners consisted mostly of bread and butter, although some had mince pie or doughnuts or occasionally an apple. There were no warm lunches.

We used McGuffey's readers and spellers, Monteith's geographys, and Ray's arithmetics and this was about all the books in use. When I was five years old I went to the summer term which commenced in May and lasted three and one-half months. The teacher got sixteen dollars per month and boarded around and usually liked it best where there were fewest children. I came from a family very apt in books, but I learned very slowly. It was hard for me to learn the letters or to pronounce words, and owing to my being the cowboy, I have gone through life a poor speller and writer.

My first teacher was a Miss Waker. She was a small woman, from Dubuque, Iowa, blind of one eye and no longer young, probably thirty-five, but a kind Christian woman. The pupils were: O. J. Felton, A. N. Felton, Joseph Wasson — the biggest boy, Maggie Ransom, Allie Dockstader,

Clary Heimbaugh, Addie Organ, Anna, Lincoln, and Alpha Clark, Eve Abrams, Ida Homer, and Lester Gilbert. Most of them are still living but Joseph Wasson is the only one still in the district. He lives in Onslow and is an old man. In the winter Levi Coder was the teacher and the school was full of the same names but at that session the pupils were the older boys and girls. I did not go much, for the winter was cold and the house crowded.

In 1872 two railroads came through the country and two little towns sprang up. Onslow on the east took our school and the building was sold to Nelson Reade. A few years ago it was still in use as a granary. Then we went to No. 2, known as North Madison. In those days we were all declaimers and committed to memory many of the masterpieces. Any visitor who could not recite some prose or poetry selection when visiting a neighborhood school was considered dumb. We had speaking on the last day and ended with spelling school in which the best speller won. I never won but my oldest sister, Maggie, and one brother, A. N., were never worsted. The rule was words in the McGuffey speller and none other but finally any word in our language.

Our games were Mumble Peg, played with a knife, the loser to pull a wooden peg from the ground with his teeth and lose it so no one could find it. Killdeer, or Fox and Geese, was played in the snow around a home base in the center with four spokes running out as avenues connected at the outer ends with a circular path. One player, chosen by lot, was required to catch and hold any he could and pat them three times. Those caught were then helpers till all were caught. No one could be caught while in home base and I have seen some pretty rough work at the last with one of the big boys, but usually the combined efforts would get him. I Spy and Two Old Cat were other games.

There were no coaches or other frills and we did not need them.

CHURCHES AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS

As time went on, the minds of the people were turned to the church. A congregational Sunday school was opened without any rules, made up of almost every denomination of Protestant faith or following. It met at the North Madison schoolhouse. They had a very interesting time and were the means of much good. Soon a Methodist circuit rider heard of it and came to preach, the biggest part of the gathering being of that faith. All went well for a time, but soon sectarianism crept in and strife began. The followers of Alexander Campbell and the Baptists had to have more water. The Presbyterians would not permit secret societies. As a result, good fellowship and true religion were jolted.

The Methodists, however, kept on in the lead and formed a class. My father and mother, M. O. Felton and Anna Marie Felton, S. L. Gilbert and wife, and Limon G. Ransom and wife, six in all, formed the class to which we were added. Among those who came by letter from their native States were Clark Martin Nichols, Amos G. Pangburn, Isaac Overley and his wife Mary, Samuel Alexander, a widower, and Isaac Gee and wife.

Father went to Monticello and bought a large family Bible and two hymn books. The hymn books contained mostly Wesley hymns which have been largely displaced in modern Methodist hymn books much to the detriment of the books. Father and mother were good singers and I used to enjoy hearing them sing those grand old Wesley hymns. They had taken singing lessons in a singing school conducted by John E. Lovejoy, a brother of Elijah P. Lovejoy.

Soon after the formation of the Methodist class the group decided that they must have a church. I remember that my father came home and said to my mother: "We are not going to talk about it any more, we are going to build." So they went at it and by hard work raised over two thousand dollars, enough so there was no debt when it was ready for dedication. Some gave more money than they were able to, even to selling the last cow. Others gave labor. A man by the name of George Coder was the builder, assisted by his grown boys. The lumber was mostly drawn from Dubuque, fifty miles away, sills sixteen inches square down to ten by ten plates. The top was trussed together like an overhead bridge. The size was thirty by fifty feet, with a vestibule or nursery in front, for the people were young and had plenty of babies. The church had three double windows on a side with twelve by fourteen inch panes of glass, two of smaller size inside the vestibule, and six transit lights above a double door. There were two smaller doors from the vestibule to the main room with a spire over the vestibule surmounted with a large tin ball. No bell or organ was ever put in this church.

The inside furniture and arrangement were the same as those in other country Methodist churches. The seats were white pine with a walnut rail or rim on top and ends. On each side was a row of seats holding four persons with a space one-fourth from the rear for two wood stoves surrounded by seats. The seats in the middle row held six. The pulpit was in the center of the front surrounded by a railing or mourner's bench. The pulpit floor was two decks, a platform six inches higher than the main floor and the preacher's stand six inches higher than this. The floor upon which the pulpit stood was carpeted. The first sofa was stuffed with springs covered with black hair cloth. It was a great honor to be allowed to sit on it. On each side

of the platform were two seats called the "Amen corner", used by the most saintly and hard of hearing.

The old men and all the married men sat on one side and the wives and older women on the other. The young people might sit in front but the rough-necks sat in the rear. The decorum was not very good. Shrill whispering and bad language were sometimes heard during the service, with some laughter and rebukes of the preacher. Every man from the preacher down chewed tobacco and spit in the aisles and on the floor. Nothing was said about it, for it was a general custom. When two men met, one of them was likely to ask for a chew the first thing. There was not much smoking, although most of the men could smoke. A pipe might be passed around in a small gathering in the manner of the red men.

Church service began with Sunday school at nine. We had no lesson leaves. Some of the older members would announce a hymn and someone would start the singing and the rest join in. Some of them could sing, but then as now music brought jealousy and friction. One man, for example, had not much music ability but liked to sing and he usually got the wrong key and balled things up. The congregation felt that some way had to be devised to stop him. My mother's brother, George Krouse, a very devout man of German blood with a strong accent, was given the job. After the speaking in class meeting he said to the would-be song leader: "you can't sing and whenever you lead, everybody's book goes right up shut." The man never sang in church again. After a prayer, there might be another song, and some general questions. Sometimes a heavy argument, not of the best spirit, developed.

Finally it was decided that classes should be organized. I was in the infant class and Aunt Mary Overley, mother's sister, read from the chapter selected and explained it as

well as she could. The larger children and adults were grouped according to age, the girls in one class, the boys in another, and the old folks in a class by themselves. Sunday school lasted until the preacher arrived and commenced the preaching service. There was no collection. After the church service was over, a class meeting was held. It was led by the class leader and here testimony of religious experiences was given.

On Thursday evening a few of the faithful met for prayer and for a business meeting concerning the church. At some of these meetings some ludicrous episodes occurred. On one occasion, a man about fifty years of age, very excitable and a poor judge of human nature, got there late. As soon as he was done praying he remarked that he must go home as the threshers were to be at his house early in the morning and he must first kill a hog, fix cribs, and notify his help. He pulled out his knife with a gesture, remarked that the hog must be stuck — much to the delight of the less pious — and left for home.

Once a year, the four churches on charge had quarterly meetings with the elder and some other preachers in attendance. It commenced on Saturday afternoon and lasted until Sunday night. On Sunday the people from a distance were invited to the homes of some of the nearby brethren for dinner. Our people, being among the leaders, usually got some of the preachers. It would be one o'clock before they got home. After that dinner must be cooked at least in part and the table set. When things were ready the preachers and the older folks took the first table of eight or ten, and after a long blessing they would begin to eat, with much visiting, and an hour would be consumed. Then the young people were seated. They did not take quite so long. After this we children came to the table to eat what was left on dirty dishes. By that time it was nearly time

for afternoon worship, and we were soon ordered to hitch the horses for the company. I have been so hungry I wished the whole church would stop.

In the winter there was always a revival. The old standbys were soon in earnest; afterwards the ones who had been dancing or doing other things not in accordance with orthodox training would be brought in. I have heard the preachers and the rest of the faithful around that altar singing "Glory to God, Amen" until I was so scared I hardly dared breathe. And now, though an old man, I have a horror of a church. There was no shouting — that was before my time — but I have heard men tell of their misdeeds and short-comings which I thought and still think should not have been told.

After the meetings a donation supper was usually held, and such a meal! Everything that the culinary of the day afforded was to be had, meats of all kinds, frosted cake trimmed with candy, pies, tarts, sauce, tea, and coffee. The dinner started with oysters. The oysters in those days came in quart flat tin cans, sealed and packed in ice. This meal cost seventy-five cents, the proceeds going to the preacher.

This church, the first built in Madison Township, Jones County, was scarcely finished when one Susan Page, an old maiden lady, passed on. She was a member of the church and had a sister, Mrs. Livengood, also a member. It was decided to bury her near the church but not in the yard and it was partly agreed to buy one square acre from Jacob Vanslike at one hundred dollars, a very large price compared to five dollars, the prevailing land value. In this acre she was buried. The preacher, a man named John Fawcett, officiated and it was the first burying that any of us younger children had ever seen. Being in early summer there was a large crowd. I have never forgotten that

ceremony, associated as it was with the dire revelations from the revival. Susan Page had been a good woman, a sort of neighborhood nurse, very much in demand, and universally loved.

Sometime after this, one Eliphalet A. Nichols, an eccentric, but good man, conceived the idea that there should be a village here and he would start it and be postmaster. Being something of a promoter, he kept the matter quiet until he had bought from Amos G. Pangburn a ten-acre strip of land cornering on the church lot, the church being in the corner of John Alexander's land. Isaac Overley owned the eighty on the other corner.

This done, Eliphalet Nichols confided his scheme to his brother, Martin. Eliphalet was then a Baptist and not connected with our church, but he offered to deed the church two acres farthest from the church for a graveyard. The deal looked so good, that Martin took the deed and had the body of a pauper buried in the plot, the poor farm not being far off, and had his first wife's remains moved from a neighboring township. He then brought the matter before the church board. Amos Pangburn, however, was naturally angered by the procedure and the two old men of the church had soon started a church fight. Some of the meetings would have disgraced a saloon. The quarrel divided the church and families, made enemies for life, drove people from the fold, and was a very bad example of Christian brotherhood. It so happened that my mother's family were neighbors of Martin Nichols and followed him; while father followed Pangburn and there were many arguments at home not pleasant for us children. But the Martin Nichols graveyard was adopted and is the last resting place of many of the followers of the church.

A Sunday school was held in most country churches in connection with the church services during the summer

months. The children of the neighborhood were glad to attend as there were few places where they could go as a change from every day tasks.

They always looked forward to the annual picnic, usually held in the fall. One Sunday school would make the initial move and invite the other Sunday schools in the neighborhood to participate. The picnic was usually held in a grove owned by S. D. Titus in Scotch Grove Township. Some of the men folks of the different schools would go on an appointed day to make preparation. They would build a platform for the speakers and make seats of planks for the audience.

Each Sunday school had a banner bearing a motto which was carried at the head of it in the grand march or procession that was a part of the day's events. Also each Sunday school was called upon to sing a song. After a few of these preliminaries came the dinner which was certainly a feast fit for a king, for our mothers were very skillful in the culinary art.

Each Sunday school ate together at a long table made by spreading table cloths on the ground. I, in my young days, took somewhat of the nature of a character known as "Picnic Sam" in one of Will Carleton's poems. I would look on while the tables were being spread and would edge in at the one that seemed to best fit my appetite.

After the dinner there was speaking and events to amuse the children. I remember that on one of these occasions Reverend Manning was asking easy questions for the children to answer. A number of us boys were sitting together in front of a tall, spectacled, cadaverous man. When a question was asked this man would prompt us and we would shout the answer at the top of our voices, to the amusement of the older people.

We all had an enjoyable time and then hurried home to

see if the cows had broken into the corn field. We wore our best clothes and they were paid for as were also the things that entered into our dinner. In those days deadbeats were rare and were not tolerated in honorable society.

In 1872 the North Madison Sunday school thought it should have a Christmas tree. None of the children had ever seen one although some of them still firmly believed that Old Santa traveled with his reindeer and came down the chimney in the night. The older of the Krouses, the writer's mother's family, had seen trees in Germany and directed the affair.

To begin with, there had to be money to buy presents. My father, who had seen a lot of the world for those times, and Amos Pangburn, who had been in theaters in New York City, decided to have an exhibition, a sort of kindergarten theater. The matter was threshed out, after the Thursday evening prayer meeting. The few Presbyterians of the old school frowned on it and the Baptists thought it very bad taste and refused to take hold but some of their older children helped. After a few weeks practice in rehearsal and some withdrawals, the grand night came. The church had a platform across the front with a rough board floor, covered by a rag carpet in the center, there not being a "boughten" carpet in the township. The curtain was of calico cloth strung across on a wire about eight feet high. On each side of the front opening was attached a short stick by which it would be opened on command by two boys or stage hands. The sides were the dressing rooms.

The program was opened with a prayer by Samuel Y. Harmer, the circuit preacher. He was a very stout man and quite a hymn writer and some of his hymns are still in the Methodist song books.

Robert G. Lyons made the opening address. He had been a student of Lenox College, a small Presbyterian school at

Hopkinton in Delaware County, and made a very commendable speech. Then John G. Krouse, the writer's uncle, started the show. He was uncle to the larger part of the school, for he and a brother, George, and five sisters all lived in the locality and had big families. Sarah Heimbaugh, the chorister, got the whole school on the stage and with the aid of Limon G. Ransom's organ led us in singing the *Evergreen Shore.* There were some good singers, but most of us just spoke. Even that was a great pride to our folks and friends. There was speaking and dialogues. "The Train Tomorrow" was played by the writer's sister, Maggie, Frank Nichols as her boy, and W. H. Alexander as a railroad man with more dignity than Jim Hill. The woman, a neighborhood nurse and very much in demand when families were large and before the modern fad of the hospital came in, wanted to go to the town the next day on a call. She was handicapped by a badly spoiled small boy, who carried rod and bait. She asked the railroad man if this was where she could take the train tomorrow. The answer was, "Yes, or any other day."

The boy, being always hungry — like all other boys — asked for ginger bread. Opening her old fashioned carpet bag, she began to take out all the homeopathic treatments then known to science and good for all the diseases in *Jayne's Almanac.* She asked the station agent if he was bothered with any of the ills mentioned to which he gave short and decisive answers. Finally the train pulled in while she had all her goods spread on the floor and she went through a great rustle to collect them and board the train.

After that there was a song and some tableaux and then the big hit, Dr. Killercure. The writer's father was the doctor. Sarah Heimbaugh and Maggie Ransom were the two main stars. Emily Nichols, Big Emily as they called her to distinguish her from her cousin Little Emily, was

the doctor's helper. The doctor laid out the drugs for the various patients telling the nature of the diseases. The assistant could not read but she remembered what the doctor said and repeated it to each patient much to their horror. Maggie Ransom was a good Irish mimic and had had good training from the railroad builders then in the country. She brought a little boy with a sore head who had been given the wrong salve. My brother, Charley, was the tot. As he was very shy and only a child, he just looked at that crowd and grinned with a face as red as a June lily, while Maggie said her boy's head kept swelling clear to the ceiling and threatened that when her husband got in he would blacken both eyes of the doctor. With a few more stunts the show ended as a first night success with gate receipts of twenty-three dollars and some cents, and no expenses.

Next was the picking of the committee to get the presents. One of the contestants for this honor was, of course, the superintendent, John Krouse. For the two assistants, the writer's mother, Mrs. Felton, and her sister, Mary Overley, wife of Isaac Overley, were pitted against Jane Nichols, wife of E. A. Nichols, and Jane Krouse, wife of the superintendent. Mrs. Felton and Mrs. Overley, being the oldest and having more children to vote, won the day but the contest caused quite a little hard feelings and family bickerings.

The committee all went to Monticello, the nearest town where any assortment of Christmas goods was to be found, in the superintendent's two-seated buggy, as we called it then, there being no covered rigs in use. The money was prorated as to age. The infant class, of which I was a member, received the value of twenty cents, the amount per capita increasing up to one dollar for the oldest or those about sixteen. I received a one-blade knife and a toy watch in the division.

Maggie Ransom had been with her foster parents to Kansas for a part of the year and was docked for time out so she got only fifty cents worth. The committee, unfortunately, forgot to rub out the cost mark, and the discrimination was taken as an insult by both her and her parents. The committee forgot one or two so had to go to Center Junction to fill in. Elmer Overley was sent to his Uncle John Krouse, the superintendent, to get the money for these purchases and Aunt Jane Krouse, one of the defeated candidates for the committee, sent back word that if she had gone there would have been no forgotten ones, a comment not well received by Aunt Mary Overley.

Finally the presents were assembled. Next came the tree. It must be an evergreen but none was to be had short of the pinery hundreds of miles away and the little cedars on the rocks along the Maquoketa River ten miles away. Jacob Vanslike, who lived near the church, knew the location of some trees, for he liked good things to eat and had scoured the whole country for years in search of blackberries. Now Jacob had a fair-sized family and lived by the church but he did not attend much nor send his children, so he had to be paid one dollar to get the tree.

On this occasion he hied himself to the river in his wagon. As this particular winter had no snow the ice on the river was thin and on going over he left his rig behind. Even walking across he broke through and got well immersed without benefit of clergy. Indeed he was one of those unlucky mortals who get in all the trouble at hand, careful or careless. However, he got a tree about ten feet high and some smaller ones and delivered them to the church. Isaac Overley came with his axe, draw knife, and brace and bit, redistributed some of the limbs, put in some, and made a tree as fine as the ones he was used to seeing in old Kentucky around Flemingsburg where cedar trees grew as

large as forest trees in this country and were used for rails to build fences. The writer has seen the people in Tennessee taking these cedar rails out of worm fences, which the natives said the pioneers had laid there, and selling them to the pencil factories.

The tree being duly placed, the next problem was its decoration. The neighbors popped corn and strung it on thread and wound it through the limbs. For lighting they got twelve little candleticks to hold wax candles, similar to the big ones but about the size of a lead pencil half used up. This together with the glare of the six oil lamps on the side with tin reflectors was the illumination. When all was ready, the presents were duly displayed and the candles lighted. After a song and a prayer, Lew Ellis, an ex-soldier picked the tree, while Maggie Felton and Carry Pangburn did the announcing to a tickled bunch of children. I am certain this was the first Christmas tree in the township.

This was the last public function held in the country church, for the little towns had railroads and soon had churches or church services. Before long the older children in the little community began to scatter and go to school and college leaving only a remnant behind. Finally in 1876 the conference, against the will of a great majority of the good people who built the church and had worshipped in it, moved the building two miles east to Onslow. Many of the members never united with any other denomination or church. A few on the east went with the church. The writer's family moved to Center Junction and the whole family of eight attended the Methodist college at Mt. Vernon, most of them graduating and becoming professional men or women. They attended Center Junction Methodist Church but no church could ever take the place of the old one. It flourished in Onslow for years and then because of the death and removal of its members, finally died of

starvation. Recently it has been torn down and made into a barn.

The only people left in the neighborhood of the original church building site are a cousin of the writer, her husband, and family, and Mrs. J. N. Smith, née Rachel Nichols, who lives on the ground and owns the farm entered by her father, Eliphalet A. Nichols, in 1852. This has been her home for more than sixty years. The home consists of one hundred and ten acres with buildings, orchard, grove, and many improvements. I think there has never been a judgment tax, sale, or lien of any description against it or a crop failure.

WAR PERIOD

The township of Madison was very patriotic during the Civil War. It was almost unanimously Republican and very intolerant of any who differed from them. One of our neighbors, William S. Slocum, a Connecticut Yankee school teacher, was a Democrat. He hated the negro and sided with the Copperheads. His hired man reported in Wyoming that Slocum had advised him not to enlist and had said that if he were drafted he would desert and go with the South.

One morning Thomas Green, with several more men, came to our house with a rope and got father and went to Slocum's house for an explanation. Slocum denied the charge and being a man of good character outside of politics, with a wife and small girl, and well liked in the community, my father advised leniency. Slocum recanted, his hired man enlisted, and the matter was dropped. Madison Township always furnished her full quota and never had a draft. Father said at one time there were only two single men in the township of military age not in service.

From the following story you can see why one of these

men remained at home. He once took his sweetheart to Anamosa to a county fair. They had cube sugar for coffee and he liked sweets, so he filled his coat pocket with the sugar lumps. Some of the waiters noticed it and a marshal collared him and marched him back to the table and made him disgorge in public. He was known as "Sugar ———" for the rest of his time in the neighborhood.

Because our quota was full, the few Copperheads in our township were never called on to go as soldiers but Jackson Township west of us had in it a settlement of Jackson Democrats and Southern sympathizers, who were all related through marriage and previous training. Otherwise they were good citizens and prosperous. So few of them enlisted that a draft was required to raise their quota.

During the Civil War my father belonged to a company of home guards that met for drill at Johnsontown. On one of their drill days Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood inspected the company and made a speech. He told them, among other things, that there were a lot of Copperheads in one locality who might need to be shown a thing or two and if so he might send the company over there. If he did, they were not to shoot any one unless it was necessary but if they did shoot to remember that he had the pardoning power.

SOME LOCAL CHARACTERS

About 1870 a man by the name of James Courtney came to our community from eastern Ontario, with his wife and family of five boys and one girl, Sary. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, leaning strongly to the Irish, born probably on the old sod. He was about middle age, slovenly in dress and habits, but ambitious and strictly honest. His wife, Diantha, was a sister of the Nichols men before mentioned. Courtney had been a hired man, a trapper and all purpose

man in a new timbered country, but had no fixed abode. His boys were all young men from ten to twenty years old and like him had grown up rough, profane, and mischievous, but honest.

This man purchased an eighty acre tract of land cornering on father's. It was rolling, with a few scattered trees on it that had escaped the ravages of the fire. He built a small house, different from any we were used to. It was boarded up and down, with a layer of clay lining about four inches thick. Above was a floored garret for the four boys at home. Then he bought from John McCain the last pair of oxen in the neighborhood, Buck and Bright, and with the aid of his boys broke the ground, taking three years to complete this work. This farm was the only place the writer ever saw wheat cut with a cradle.

The wife and mother lived only a few years and died of cancer after which the father "kept bach" with some of the boys a year or two until they got into a dispute about something and he fired them. They made arrangements to go to Chadron, Nebraska, at that time as far from settlement as possible, but before they left, to make thinks look well and leave the father in grateful remembrance, they sawed off three of the best apple trees that were just nicely bearing.

Courtney, while not a drunkard, would once or twice a year get "roarin' " drunk for a few days. He was not of the fighting Irish, but funny, and he pulled off many queer stunts. At all times he was profane and foul-mouthed and would keep the men and boys in an uproar and the women and girls guessing whether to frown or laugh.

He had a neighbor by the name of Richard Slocum,[3] a Connecticut Yankee. Slocum was very nervous and to make things worse, the first year he was there his team ran away,

[3] This was a brother of the W. S. Slocum mentioned above.

hit a tree, wrecked the wagon, and all but killed the man, so that he was a physical wreck for the rest of his life and often called on Courtney to help him with work.

On one occasion they were butchering. Slocum brought with him a block and tackle and three pulleys, but the rope had rotted from neglect and wear. The hog was heavy and after it was scalded and swung up and Courtney was engaged in dressing it the rope broke and the hog fell into the mud and dirt. It was hard to tell who swore the most, but Slocum's squeaky voice carried the farthest.

Several years afterward, through exposure and old age, Courtney died. His children being out of the country, the neighbors took charge of the burial. During life he had had no connection with any church nor any regard for religion of any kind, yet he had been honorable in his business dealings and had accumulated some property. The old neighbors felt they owed him a civil burial so they got the North Madison schoolhouse and one Asahel Bronson from Wyoming to act as minister. The congregation sang the hymns. For his sermon text the preacher took the words, "If ye will not repent ye shall die in your sins". Our Aunt Esther Pangburn said he just preached the dead man into Hell.

The Reverend Bronson had been in his younger days a regularly ordained Methodist preacher in Wyoming County, New York. Failing in health, he came to Wyoming, Iowa, in 1859, following his cousin, James A. Bronson, and a brother, B. K. Bronson, who founded the town of Wyoming in 1856. He was small in stature and had a great deal of energy. In Iowa he soon gained his health and was for years a regular preacher in the Upper Iowa Methodist Conference and filled many appointments. Finally he settled in Wyoming and lived a retired life, filling many small offices and preaching in the neighboring schoolhouses

where there was no church within walking distance. He lived to be ninety-six years old and no man ever lived in the county so universally loved and honored as he. He married more couples and preached more funeral sermons than any other preacher of any creed in the county. The writer remembers hearing him remark in the middle nineties before he made the opening prayer at a Fourth of July celebration in Wyoming: "I can say what no other man in this large gathering can say, I am 88 years old today, my father fought in the Revolutionary War." His voice was then strong and had no tremble. The worst roughneck never swore in his presence, just from the universal respect he carried with him in all gatherings.

Another character in the neighborhood was John Brutsman, a grandfather of the wife of the writer. He was a Pennsylvania Dutchman from Wyoming County, who had come to Dixon, Illinois, in the forties and was there during the later days of Peter Cartwright and the Methodist crusade. His wife had joined the Methodists but he had been raised a Quaker, though he had not worked at it much, and he hated the Methodists among other things. After he came to Madison Township in 1866, he bought a tract of timber on North Mineral Creek, about ten miles from his home, for firewood and fencing. The dealer showed him a very good piece of timber, but deeded him another with scarcely any good timber on it. At this time timber land was worth four times as much as prairie land and there were no plats scattered about as there are now. Only the surveyor's notes at the courthouse were available. Brutsman paid for the land and soon commenced to cut and haul logs from the land he had been shown.

It happened, however, that a man by the name of J. Stunkard lived in the neighborhood of the timber and owned the patch being cut. He became aware of the cutting

and traced it to Brutsman, who readily admitted he had cut the trees and explained how he had purchased the land. As a result Brutsman and Stunkard got together to fix matters up. Stunkard invited Brutsman and his boy, Jim, to dinner before they went to survey the cutting that had been done. He was a Methodist and as the custom was, he asked the blessing before the meal. In those days the plates were put on the table up-side-down over the knives and forks. After the meal Brutsman took his son, Jim, out by the wagon and remarked: "Did you see that old cuss reading that little verse off his plate?" But the affair was adjusted and Brutsman found his own timber.

Among our neighbors were Phil and Margaret Allbery. They were fine people but very illiterate and Phil was a strong Democrat. He told my father during the Civil War that Lincoln had no right to abolish the writ of hocus pocus (habeas corpus). In clearing his farm of trees he would fasten a chain around the tree as high as he could reach, hitch the oxen to the other end of the chain and while he was digging and chopping the roots he would urge the oxen to pull. The Allberys were great eaters and Margaret always had a cupboard filled with good things. Occasionally when my folks were going to Wyoming they would leave some of us at the Allberys. Margaret would always give us so much to eat that we were usually sick for several days afterwards.

Our neighbors generally did not take to education as we did but though they were ignorant, they developed the community, paid their way, and could be relied on to do their full duty when the nation was in danger and Lincoln called for soldiers to defend it.

Then as now, there were some very small-souled men. We had two of them in our community, whose names I will not mention. A death was near in each of their families.

Both of them scoured the country before the death to see where he could get the cheapest coffin.

The earliest settlers of our community were mostly Yankees, the few foreigners who were there being mostly Germans, among whom were my mother's folks, the Krouses.

PESTS

We had few pests to destroy the field crops or fruit, but in the middle 70's the chinch bugs stopped the cultivation of wheat. They were little insects about the size of a gnat with white wings and black bodies. The old ones did no damage, but the brood so thoroughly sapped the straw that the grain did not fill out. You could first see small patches of grain turning white and then in a day or two the whole field whitened. Then the chinch bugs would leave the wheat fields and go into the oats or corn and take a strip from ten to twenty rows. After that the farmers stopped trying to raise wheat and they disappeared.

About the time of the Civil War, the Colorado potato bug got to us and they were such pests that we had to go over the vines every day, and pick off the bugs, and destroy the eggs. When grown, these beetles were red and black and about twice the size of a lady bug. They deposited their eggs in clusters on the under side of the leaves. The eggs hatched in a day or two and if left alone the larvae would eat leaves, vines and all. That was the most dreaded job on the farm, but people raised only what they could consume at home, for there was no market for potatoes. Finally the lady bug came and lived on the eggs of the Colorado beetle and for a great many years there have not been enough to bother. Many other pests, however, have followed so spraying has to be done, a remedy not thought of in the old days.

The currants were never bothered nor the gooseberries, and there were no apple worms, cabbage worms, or leaf roll or plant lice. I think the wild land raised enemies that destroyed these pests.

There were two kinds of squirrels: small striped ones which were very numerous and the large grey ones, about the size of timber squirrels. The squirrels would follow up the rows of planted corn and dig up the seeds as long as there was any of the kernel left. We trapped them and, if there was any corn left, fed them for a while.

When the first cherry trees began to bear, the birds took many of the cherries. Some people shot the birds but for the most part they tried scaring them. L. G. Ransom shot many birds and soon after had a very bad knee. His neighbor, S. Dilley, thought it was a judgment sent on him.

SIGNS

It has been a weakness of the human family from the earliest dawn to believe in witches, signs, imps, and the like. We, being drawn from many nations, have some of the superstitions of them all. Every new country's first settlers retain some superstitious beliefs and ours was no exception.

The Overleys, Arnolds, Lightfoots, and Basingers from Fleming County, Kentucky, were strong believers in the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. They consulted it, as a sailor his chart, for all farming, fencing, weather, and similar problems.

The writer's uncle, Isaac Overley, came the most to our notice. He weaned his children, calves, and colts when the sign was in the foot to keep them from crying too much. He planted potatoes by it, so they would not all go to blossoms, shingled according to it, so the shingles would not warp, and fenced at the time indicated, so the fences would not settle in the ground.

The writer was once shown an old goose setting on the prairie at the home of Elmer Ellsworth Overley, a cousin. I noticed an old rusty axe lying on the ground near her and picked it up, intending to carry it away, when Elmer said, "Don't do that. Pa put it there to keep the thunder from killing the eggs."

There were many weather signs. L. G. Ransom claimed that if the sun went down clear on Friday night it would rain before Monday noon. Jacob Parks said that if you saw many whirlwinds in the spring it was a sure sign of a dry summer.

This was from the Cavalier strain; the Puritan line went mostly to witches. One woman related that while living in Illinois her mother could not get the butter to gather in the churn. An old Yankee woman told her to put a horse shoe in the churn. She did this and got immediate results. The old German woman was converted to the belief, not realizing that the heat or cold of the iron did the job, not the driving out of the witches.

Horses, then as now, would rub their necks in shedding time. A neighbor once noticed a colt of ours with stirrups or snarls in its mane and remarked that the witches had been riding it. For hot, dry summers and cold, blustery winters there were many and contradictory signs brought from all climates. Some were borrowed from the Indians.

In August, 1869, there occurred a total eclipse of the sun visible in Iowa. It was foretold in the almanacs and many visitations of wind and weather were predicted — frosts, floods, and blight to follow. The eventful day came. It was about four in the afternoon. Father and George and Alfred, my two older brothers, were east of the house binding wheat. Mother, my oldest sister, Maggie, then thirteen, Charley, Winnie — the baby — and Aunt Esther, mother's sister, were at the house.

Maggie, who had heard of smoked glass for clear vision, was prepared and as soon as the eclipse began she kept close watch. The writer did not enjoy seeing that black disk cover the bright sun with not a cloud in sight. Finally I was sent to the field to call the men to look at it. Mother and Aunt Esther were talking about it and when another would occur. Maggie said in thirty years and mother said none of us would live to see it. But Maggie said she expected to as she would be forty-three, George would be as old as father, forty-one, and I would be thirty-six. We all lived to see the next eclipse and many years after, except Maggie, who was taken by grippe in 1889.

When the eclipse was complete, the chickens flew into the trees to roost and the turkeys on the rail fences near their young. It got noticeably cooler while the sun was covered. When it was nearly over, Maggie and I were sent to dig the peach blow potatoes for supper. I scolded as she watched the sun while I dug the potatoes. A German family by the name of Harber lived a short distance from us at the time. The man was away and the young woman with the two children got so frightened they went into the house and shut the door. But the next morning the sun rose as usual. Father never believed in signs and we never had that burden of fear to carry. I find there are lots of people still following those old signs.

TREES AND FLOWERS

From northeastern Iowa to Des Moines, the State capital, the rivers are about twenty miles apart Along these rivers there was usually a belt of solid timber about two miles wide, mostly hilly, then a belt of solid prairie with no trees or brush, and then a belt of low hills, mostly clay. In the sixties there were on the tops of these hills some large oak trees about equally divided among white, black, or red oaks,

as the people called them. The black oak was so named from its black bark. The red oak was named from its red center, or the heart of the wood. There was also the burr oak which has an acorn in clusters with a husk resembling a burr. These acorns fell early and we children used to eat them raw. They were also good when roasted. The others were very bitter.

These trees must have gotten started and survived because the grass on the tops of the hills was shortest or tramped out by the wild animals and did not make such a hot fire when the prairies burned. As soon as the topmost limbs got above the fire hazard and the cropping of the animals the trees were safe and some of them grew to be big trees, with trunks from ten to thirty inches in diameter. They were short bodied. The limbs branched out from eight to fifteen feet above the ground, like those of a well pruned apple tree, and they often shaded a spot ninety feet in circumference.

Sometimes the trees grew in pairs, perhaps a white oak and a black oak about the same size, but mostly they stood singly. There would be from two to ten oak trees on a forty and about two or three shellbark hickory trees. These usually bore a very good nut of small size with a thin shell. I knew every tree in six sections and I never found two trees bearing the same shaped nut. I got my share and sometimes more. These shellbarks were very rough. The shells or scales of bark would be about eighteen inches long, ending in saber points sticking out from the tree, and many a time the writer has had to stop and pull these shells away by breaking the points off before he could climb to the limbs. I have often wondered why nature made them so; there is some reason, but I have never found out why nor been told.

In the summer the cattle and horses enjoyed the shade

of the trees and the travelers on the old trails would stop under them to rest and eat. The settlers being mostly from the timber States saved the trees for they still loved them. The hickory trees were left for the nuts as the children claimed the trees and for years those were all the nuts they had to eat. The farmers plowed around them and, the modern machines not being in use, the trees were not much bother.

The farm on which the Felton family was raised remained the home until 1896 and was held by deed until 1925. It had several fine trees and was known as Oak Park Farm. It was the last to surrender these monarchs and the writer now knows of only one farm where any of the trees of the sixties remain. That is the old Eliphalet Nichols home where his youngest daughter, Rachel Nichols Smith, still lives. For four generations — since 1852 — the people on this farm have enjoyed the shady oaks. When the farms began to be sold and rented in the eighties, the German tenants cut the trees and turned the orchards into asylums for ailing beasts, calf pastures, and the like, which soon destroyed both shade and fruit trees.

As soon as the majority of the land was tilled and the fires were controlled the heads of ravines soon grew timber. Stumps of oaks which had been burned to the ground sent up vigorous shoots that in twenty years made good posts and much firewood. These sprouted trees occasioned much hard labor to grub. The writer when in his teens had many hard days work getting them out. The tool was a mattock with a narrow axe on the one side and a stout hoe on the other, on a straight handle. After the fire hazard was past the soft wood got started and soon the cottonwood, elm, and balm of Gilead, locally known as quaking asp, shot up in fence lines and road sides.

As soon as the frost went out in the spring, flowers began

with the grass. The first to come were the cowslips. These grew in the sloughs. The cowslip plant had a large flat leaf, a juicy stem, and yellow flowers. The leaves were gathered for greens by the early settlers, for there were no dandelions in the country at that time.

Then there were the johnny-jump-ups or wild pansies in three or four colors. Also the Indian tobacco, with its pallid flowers. We chewed the leaves, hence its name. The sheep-sorrel with pink flowers grew in clusters. The Indian head or bloody-butcher grew on a single stem. In June came the pinks. This was a wonderful flower of rare beauty, growing in the meadows. It had yellow flowers in a cluster on a stalk about a foot high.

In July came the ladyslippers. The yellow ones were quite common and grew on a single stem about a foot high with one flower shaped like a slipper. White ones with purple markings grew on some of the knolls. The writer had not seen one of these white ladyslippers for more than fifty years, until he found some in the spring of 1930 near Hopkinton. I think it was the prettiest wild flower of them all.

The dry land lily grew on a stalk with bright red flowers in irregular formation. The slough lily had several flowers on a stem. Its petals were curved with black dots. One kind of prairie thistle grew about a foot high with three flowers about the size of a round house paint brush. It was a beautiful flower and very rare. These flowers are now found only on the railroad right of ways that have never been plowed.

LECTURES

About 1875 a spasm of lecturing spread over the whole country similar to the Chautauqua. The older children were attending the small denominational colleges and bring-

ing home reports of the school lectures by the professors and preachers. The idea spread. At Center Junction, for example, a club was formed to establish a lecture course. It was headed by Z. G. Isabell, the local Nasby, a man past middle life, who was also a Methodist preacher, a registered M. D., and a druggist. Dr. Carlisle A. Cary, Amos Pangburn, S. McGinty, M. O. Felton, Jess Houser, the local merchant, and a few more of equal note made up the membership. The field was well supplied from Henry Ward Beecher, Robert G. Ingersoll, Henry Watterson, and Schuyler Colfax down to the ground, covering all subjects, in title at least.

This club decided on three lectures. For the first they took a humorist named Ely Perkins. The Methodist Church was selected as the hall for it was the largest meeting place, seating about two hundred and fifty. The crowd gathered, made up mostly of the most devout Methodists and Presbyterians of the county and their families, except the baby which they had been ordered to leave at home. They gathered in solemn order as if at a memorial gathering, expecting to hear an orthodox sermon on the sin of a smile. Dr. Isabell in his ministerial clothes rose from behind the pulpit and proceeded to introduce the speaker. He said, in part, that the good people of the town and vicinity had decreed that they would not have any one-horse lecturer, so they sent to New York City for one.

Then Perkins, after a few words of praise for the group, launched out with funny stories and some bantering of the crowd. He had brought some drawings by way of illustrations. Among other things he said that his Uncle William was a very temperate man and had never drunk anything but whisky and water but got to feeling bad so he quit the water altogether. At this some of them reached for their Bibles, others cleared their throats, and the atmosphere

cooled perceptibly. A little later he got to the Englishman. He said it took a Yank two seconds to get anything through his head but it took an Englishman two weeks. The Methodist preacher who was sitting in front of him was English. This again iced the Methodists. At last the speaker looked at his watch and announced that he had been talking for an hour and a half and came to a close. I was much interested in the talk, especially the stories, and drank in all of it and remember it to this day. But the audience — there was never a more disgusted gathering left the church. They got the kind of lecture they paid for but not the kind they wanted. This ended the lecture course and goes to show that the mind of man is directed by prejudice more than by thought.

O. J. Felton

Cedar Rapids Iowa

SOME PUBLICATIONS

A History of Minnesota. By William Watts Folwell. Saint Paul : Minnesota Historical Society. 1930. Pp. 575. Plates, maps. The fourth and last volume of Dr. Folwell's splendid work is devoted to a series of six essays in economic, educational, and social history. The first deals with the development of iron-mining in Minnesota from its beginnings. In the chapter on the University of Minnesota no attempt was made to give a history of that institution, but certain aspects of its story not adequately told elsewhere are presented in considerable detail. The account on public education deals with such items as taxes, State aid for schools, textbook legislation, compulsory education, consolidated schools, and State supervision of education. The tragic and sordid story of the treatment of the Chippewa Indians is illustrated by five excellent maps of Indian reservations. Outlines in the changes in the sovereign power as constituted by "the deposit of the elective franchise" as well as the development of electoral procedure are contained in the chapter entitled "The Will of the People". The final chapter contains brief appraisals of the work of twelve Minnesota citizens, who, because of their contributions to the economic and cultural development of the State, are designated as "apostles".

The book contains twenty-three illustrations and six maps. There is no general bibliography but the works cited are listed in the consolidated index with a reference to the first citation. The book shows the same editorial care and workmanship exhibited in the previous volumes.

Memories of Four Score Years. By Charles August Ficke. Davenport, Iowa: Published by the author. 1930. Pp. 508. In this book, which was written primarily for his family, Mr. Ficke has presented an intimate and interesting account of his life as one of the children in a pioneer German family, as a lawyer in

Davenport, and as a world traveler. The descriptions of pioneer life in Iowa, written from the point of view of an intelligent boy in a cultured German-American farm home, are a contribution to Iowa history. Equally important and valuable are the comments of Mr. Ficke as a lawyer and business man in Davenport on the economic, social, and political problems of Iowa. The volume includes some interesting accounts of travel, both in Europe and America, and some material on the development of culture in the community.

An English Colony in Iowa. By H. Harcourt Horn. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House. 1931. Pp. 91. This small volume of reminiscences tells the experiences of an Englishman and his wife who settled at Decorah, Iowa, in 1869. They remained there until 1879, when they removed to St. Paul, Minnesota. The style is informal and friendly. There are stories of the English settlers in the vicinity, interspersed with accounts of American social customs, living conditions, and life in general.

Gerrit Smith Miller, a Pioneer in the Dairy and Cattle Business, by W. Freeman Galpin, is one of the articles in *Agricultural History* for January.

The Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786-1836, by Edward Park Anderson; *History of the Capture and Captivity of David Boyd from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, 1756,* edited by Mrs. Elbert M. Davis; and a continuation of *Captain Samuel A. Craig's Memoirs of Civil War and Reconstruction* are three articles in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for January.

The January number of *The American Historical Review* contains four numbers: *Persistent Problems of Church and State,* by Evarts B. Greene; *The Earl of Salisbury and the "Court" Party in Parliament, 1604-1610,* by David Harris Willson; *Barère in the Constituent Assembly,* by Leo Gershoy; and *Southern Nationalism in South Carolina in 1851,* by N. W. Stephenson. There are two short contributions: *Virginia and the Alien and Sedition Laws,*

by Philip G. Davidson, and *Anglo-Russian Negotiations about a "Permanent" Quadruple Alliance, 1840-1841,* by Frederick Stanley Rodkey. Under the heading, *Document,* there appear a number of letters from William Shirley to Samuel Waldo.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Excavation of Albee Mound 1926-1927, by J. Arthur MacLean, is contained in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for January.

Volume XXI of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library,* Volume II of the *Law Series,* contains *The Laws of Indiana Territory 1801-1809,* edited by Francis S. Philbrick, who also writes the introduction.

Legislative Reapportionment in Washington, by J. Orin Oliphant; *The Ulster County Gazette,* by Edmond S. Meany; and *Our First Horticulturist — The Brackenridge Journal,* edited by O. B. Sperlin, are three of the contributions in the January issue of *The Washington Historical Quarterly.*

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for December, 1930, contains a number of papers and articles, among which are the following: *Governor Claude Matthews,* by H. S. K. Bartholomew; *The Hope Congregation, North Carolina,* by Adelaide E. Fries; and *A History of Negro Education in Indianapolis,* by Herman Murray Riley.

Father Louis Hennepin, Belgian, by Prince Albert de Ligne; *Posts in the Minnesota Fur-Trading Area, 1660-1855,* by Grace Lee Nute; *Roads and Trails in the Minnesota Triangle, 1849-1860,* by Arthur J. Larsen; and *William Albert McGonagle,* by William E. Culkin, are the four articles in the December, 1930, issue of *Minnesota History.*

Observations on the Menominee Indians, by Willard H. Titus; *Pioneer Reminiscences,* by Oliver Gilbert; *Recollections of Farm Life,* by Mrs. Ambrose Warner; *Early Times in St. Croix County,* by James Amasa Andrews; and *Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford* are the articles and reminiscences found in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1930.

The Legend of the Battle of Claremore Mound, by Rachel Caroline Eaton; *Some Remnants of Frontier Journalism,* by M. A. Ranck; *General John Nicks and His Wife, Sarah Perkins Nicks,* by Carolyn Thomas Foreman; and *A History of the Cherokee Indians,* by Hugh T. Cunningham, are some of the papers found in the December, 1930, number of *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Antonio de Espejo as a Familiar of the Mexican Inquisition, 1572-1578, by G. R. G. Conway; *The Zuñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fé; the Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788-1795,* by George P. Hammond; and *Apaches as Thespians in 1876,* by John P. Clum, are three of the articles and papers in the January issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review.*

The January number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains the following articles and papers: *The Black Hills Gold Rush,* by Harold E. Briggs; *The Minnesota Historical Survey and the Relocation of the Red River Trails,* by Willoughby M. Babcock; and *On the March with Sibley in 1863: The Diary of Private Henry J. Hagadorn,* edited by John Perry Pritchett.

Mid-America for January contains three articles: *Catholic Missionary Schools Among the Indians of Minnesota,* by Hugh Graham; *Pioneer Catholics of Nodaway County, Missouri,* by Damian Leander Cummins; and the second installment of *Father Gabriel de la Ribourde,* by Marion A. Habig. Under the heading, *Documents,* there appears *An Early Missouri River Journal,* an account of a journey by Nicolas Point in 1847.

The January issue of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains a number of papers and articles, among which are the following: *Andrew Jackson and His Ward, Andrew Jackson Hutchings,* by John H. DeWitt; *The Earthquake of 1811 — and the Church in the South,* by Walter Brownlow Posey; *The Lost Irish Tribes in the South,* by Irvin Cobb; *An Account of the Presbyterian Mission to the Cherokees, 1757-1759,* by Samuel C. Williams; and *State History,* by Donald Davidson.

The Missouri Historical Review for January contains the follow-

ing articles and papers: *The Building of the University of Missouri an Epoch Making Step,* by W. S. Dearmont; *The Beginning of the Whig Party in Missouri, 1824-1840,* by Leota Newhard; and *Emigrant Missourians in Mexico and Oregon,* by Frederick A. Culmer. The issue also contains installments of *Joseph Pulitzer,* by George S. Johns; *John Evans, Explorer and Surveyor,* by A. P. Nasatir; *Joseph B. McCullagh,* by Walter B. Stevens; *The St. Louis School of Thought,* by Cleon Forbes; and *Experiences of Lewis Bissell Dougherty on the Oregon Trail,* by Ethel Massie Withers.

The winter number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the following papers and articles: *Stanley Griswold,* by William L. Jenks; *The Regime of the Governor and Judges of Michigan Territory,* by George B. Catlin; *Pastoral Letters from the Bishop of Quebec to the Inhabitants of Detroit,* by William Renwick Riddell; *Coat-of-Arms of the State of Michigan,* by Victor Bruce Grant; *Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs,* by Irma T. Jones; *A Pocahontas of Michigan,* by Vivian Lyon Moore; *Sesqui-Centennial of the Battle of Piqua,* by Thomas A. E. Weadock; *Graves of Revolutionary Soldiers in Michigan,* by Mrs. Sidney W. Clarkson; *The Log of a Pioneer,* by Ivan Swift; and the *Journal of Andrew M. Felt.*

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly for January contains the following articles: *The History of Washington Parish, Louisiana, as Compiled From the Records and Traditions,* by Prentiss B. Carter; *The First Meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society in the Sala Capitular at the Cabildo,* by H. Gibbs Morgan; *Schools of New Orleans During the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century,* by Stuart Grayson Noble; and *A Last Evening With Judge Gayarré,* by Frank D. Richardson. Among the *Documents* are *Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, XLIX,* by Heloise H. Cruzat; *Documents Covering the Impeachment of Bienville Under Direction of Louis XIV Before Diron D'Artaguette, Special Commissioner, at Fort Louis, Mobile, February 24-27, 1708,* by

A. G. Sanders; and *Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana, XXXI,* by Laura L. Porteous.

The Coming of the Automobile and Improved Roads to Colorado, by LeRoy R. Hafen; *Indian Petroglyphs of Southeastern Colorado,* by E. B. Renaud; *Colorado's First Fight for Statehood, 1865-1868,* by Elmer Ellis; *The Cherokee Trail and the First Discovery of Gold on Cherry Creek,* by Albert B. Sanford; and *The Story of Dead Man's Canon and of the Espinosas,* told by Henry Priest to Elsie Keeton, are the articles which appear in the January issue of *The Colorado Magazine*; *Early Days in Alamosa,* by Frank C. Spencer; *A Preliminary Note on the Investigation of Indian Hair,* by George Woodbury; *The Counties of Colorado: A History of Their Creation and the Origin of Their Names,* by LeRoy R. Hafen; and *Denver Fifty Years Ago,* by W. H. Bergtold, are four of the articles in the March number.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review for December, 1930, contains the following articles and papers: *John Stuart's Indian Policy During the Early Months of the American Revolution,* by Philip M. Hamer; *Louisiana as a Factor in French Diplomacy from 1763 to 1800,* by Mildred Stahl Fletcher; *The United States Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860,* by George D. Harmon; *Hugh McCulloch and the Treasury Department, 1865-1869,* by Herbert S. Schell; and *The Gold-Standard Democrats and the Party Conflict,* by James A. Barnes. Under *Documents* is *Correspondence of Henry Stuart and Alexander Cameron with the Wataugans,* edited by Philip M. Hamer. *The Ohio Campaigns of 1782,* by M. M. Quaife; *Influence of Slavery upon the Methodist Church in the Early South and Southwest,* by Walter Brownlow Posey; *Francis P. Blair, Pen-Executive of Andrew Jackson,* by William E. Smith; *The Chicago Times and the Civil War,* by Donald Bridgman Sanger; *Recent Industrial Growth and Politics in the Southern Appalachian Region,* by John D. Barnhart, are the articles and papers in the March number. *Justice Samuel F. Miller and the Barbourville Debating Society,* edited by Charles Fairman, appears under the heading, *Documents.* The original document is the property of Thomas D. Tinsley, of Ashland, Kentucky.

IOWANA

The January number of *The P. E. O. Record* contains a brief article on *Iowa Wesleyan College, Birthplace of P. E. O.*

Buffalo, Iowa, Founded by Clarks in 1833, by Billie Newlin, is one of the Iowa items in the *Rock Island Magazine* for January.

Carrie Chapman Catt, by Mildred Adams, is reprinted in *The Alumnus of Iowa State College* for February. The biographical sketch originally appeared in the *Pictorial Review.*

Sacred Memories of a Circuit Rider, by Aaron Watson Haines, is the story of a Methodist preacher's life in Iowa following the Civil War. It is published in pamphlet form.

A. Grandjean, of Loire, France, has written a sketch of the lives of Mathias Loras and Jean-Baptiste-Marie Vianney. Loras was the first Catholic Bishop of Dubuque.

Midland Schools for January contains an article entitled *State Juvenile Home,* by Mary A. Dugan. In the issue for February, Warden Thomas P. Hallowell tells of the *Fort Madison State Penitentiary.* The March number contains *Woodward Hospital for Epileptics and School for the Feebleminded,* written by P. D. Covert.

The Newspaper Collection of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, by Edward F. Pittman; and a continuation of *Abandoned Towns of Iowa,* by David C. Mott, are the two articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for January. Among the *Editorials* is a discussion of *The Tesson Claim in Lee County and the Earliest Orchard in Iowa.* The article on the newspaper collection has been reprinted in pamphlet form.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Anderson, Maxwell,

Elizabeth the Queen (play). New York : Longmans, Green and Co. 1931.

Andrews, Elizabeth Gordon,

The Development of Imagination in the Preschool Child (University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. III, No. 4). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Arnold, Lionel K., (Joint author)

Cornstalks as an Industrial Raw Material (Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 98). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

The Production of Paper from Cornstalks (Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 100). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Aumann, Francis R.,

The Public Defender in the Municipal Courts of Columbus (Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, November, 1930).

Bailey, Belle,

To Market With Hogs (The Palimpsest, February, 1931).

Baker, Margaret.

Noddy Goes A-plowing. New York : Duffield and Co. 1931.

Benton, Edward Maxwell,

Soldier Voting in Iowa (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1931).

Craighead, James R. E.,

Black Hawk. Creston, Iowa : Bond Publishing Company. 1930.

Crawford, Bartholow V.,

Susan Glaspell (The Palimpsest, December, 1930).

Crosser, C. A.,

Why Not a Tax Disarmament Conference? (National Municipal Review, February, 1931).

Daasch, Francis, (Joint author)

Iowa — Manufactured Industrial Locomotives at Work in

Every Civilized Country (The Iowa Engineer, January, 1931).

Eriksson, Erik McKinley,

Coe Collegiate Institute and Its Founders, 1875-1881. Cedar Rapids : Coe College. 1930.

Fisher, Mary,

A Tribute to Dr. W. S. Pitts (poem). Cedar Falls, Iowa : Privately printed. 1930.

Garver, Frank Harmon,

Attendance at the First Continental Congress (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 1929).

Founding a Midwestern University (Reprinted from Social Science, January, 1931).

Gates, Robert,

The Lonely Ones (poem) (The Midland, January-February, 1931).

Geiser, Samuel Wood,

Naturalists of the Frontier, No. VIII, *Audubon in Texas* (Reprinted from the Southwest Review, Autumn, 1930).

Gilmore, Eugene A.,

An Experiment in Government and Law in the Philippines (Iowa Law Review, December, 1930).

Glaspell, Susan, (Mrs. Norman Matson)

Alison's House (play). New York : S. French. 1930.

Gode, Marguerite,

Enters Gardenland With Jerry and Babette (Better Homes and Gardens, January, 1931).

Finds Peter Ponk in Gardenland! (Better Homes and Gardens, March, 1930).

What Ho! The Buntings (Better Homes and Gardens, February, 1931).

Haines, Aaron Watson,
Sacred Memories of a Circuit Rider. Rockford, Illinois : Privately printed. 1930.

Hall, James Norman,
Death on an Atoll (Atlantic Monthly, March, 1931).

Hammand, O. A.,
The World Court (Midland Schools, January, 1931).

Harter, William L., (Joint author)
The Population of Iowa Its Composition and Changes (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 275). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Hoeltje, Hubert H.,
Emerson's Venture in Western Land (American Literature, January, 1931).
The "First" Locomotive (The Palimpsest, February, 1931).

House, Ralph E.,
Some Verse of Jayme de Qüete (Philological Quarterly, January, 1931).

Jones, Clinton Mellen,
Field Notes on Connecticut Birds (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XIII, No. 4). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Kluckhohn, Harvey N.,
Newspaper Publicity for the Public Schools of Iowa (University of Iowa Extension Bulletin, No. 254). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Marek, Frank, (Joint author)
Iowa Washing Machines Clean Clothes in Every Nation (The Iowa Engineer, February, 1931).

Merriam, Charles E.,
How Far Have We Come and Where Do We Go From Here? (National Municipal Review, January, 1931).

Mott, David C.,
Abandoned Towns of Iowa (Annals of Iowa, January, 1931).

Nasby, Melvin, (Joint author)
Iowa-Manufactured Industrial Locomotives at Work in Every Civilized Country (The Iowa Engineer, January, 1931).

Parker, Robert L.,
Care of the Indigent Sick by Medical Society Contract (The Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society, January, 1931).

Pelzer, Louis,
Iowa City : A Miniature Frontier of the Forties (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1931).

Perkins, Rollin M.,
Proposed Jury Changes in Criminal Cases (Iowa Law Review, December, 1930).

Petty, Paul, (Joint author)
Iowa Washing Machines Clean Clothes in Every Nation (The Iowa Engineer, February, 1931).

Pierce, Frank,
George M. Bechtel (American Municipalities, February, 1931).

Pittman, Edward F.,
The Newspaper Collection of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa (Annals of Iowa, January, 1931).

Powers, Samuel C. E.,
The Iowa State Highway Commission (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1931).

Quaife, M. M.,
Detroit Biographies : David Bacon (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, January, 1931).
The Ohio Campaigns of 1782 (The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March, 1931).

Quigley, Iola B.,
McGregor Sketches (The Palimpsest, January, 1931).

Read, Allen Walker,

The Disinterment of Milton's Remains (Reprinted from Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, December, 1930).

Roberts, George E.,

Why Are We Depressed? (The Review of Reviews, January, 1931).

Shultz, Gladys Denny,

Don't Expect Too Much of Him! (Better Homes and Gardens, January, 1931).

Sias, Carleton,

Powers of Municipalities (American Municipalities, February, 1931).

Sigmund, Jay G.,

The Ridge Road. Chicago : Prairie Farmer Publishing Co. 1931.

Sloan, Sam B.,

Misrepresentative Fiction (The Palimpsest, February, 1931).

Stewart, R. E., (Joint author)

The Population of Iowa Its Composition and Changes (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 275). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Stipp, H. H.,

Special Assessments (American Municipalities, February, 1931).

Sweeney, O. R., (Joint author)

Cornstalks as an Industrial Raw Material (Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 98). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

The Production of Paper from Cornstalks (Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 100). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1930.

Updegraff, Ruth,
The Visual Perception of Distance in Young Children and Adults (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. IV, No. 4). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

Wagner, Dorothy,
Buffalo Bill, Showman (The Palimpsest, December, 1930).

Whitehall, Harold,
A Short Study of the Vowels in the Language of the Shuttleworth Accounts (1582-1621) (Philological Quarterly, January, 1931).

Wittke, Carl,
Tambo and Bones. Durham, N. C. : Duke University Press. 1930.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

Early days in Montrose, by J. P. Kennedy, in the *Montrose Journal,* December 17, 25, 1930.

M. T. Grattan recalls horsemen in Winneshiek County, in the *Decorah Journal,* December 17, 1930.

Navigation on the Chippewa River, by Fred A. Bill, in the *Burlington Post,* December 20, 27, 1930, January 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, February 7, 14, 21, 28, 1931.

History of Old Stone Church at New Era, in the *Muscatine Journal,* December 17, and the *Davenport Democrat,* December 21, 1930.

Early history of Strawberry Point, in the *Clayton County* (Strawberry Point) *Press-Journal,* December 18, 1930.

Historical sketch of Tipton and Cedar County, in the *Tipton Advertiser,* December 18, 1930.

Folsom skeletons said to be Mormon smallpox victims, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune,* December 18, 1930.

Mrs. J. H. Lawrence was first child born at Storm Lake, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune,* December 18, 1930.

Sketch of the life of John G. Legel, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* December 18, and the *Charles City Press,* December 20, 1930.

Jawbone of mastodon found in Harrison County by Bohumil Shimek, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* December 19, 1930.

John Moeller drove stakes for site of Reinbeck, in the *Reinbeck Courier,* December 19, 1930.

The semi-centennial celebration at Burlington, in the *Burlington Post,* December 20, 27, 1930, January 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, February 7, 14, 21, 28, 1931.

R. E. Price was second white child born in Clayton County, in the *Waterloo-Tribune,* December 21, 1930.

History of the Methodist Church in Iowa City, by Betty Jack, in the *Daily Iowan,* December 21, 1930.

Reminiscences of Tabor, by Julia A. Cumings Matthews, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune,* December 22, 1930.

Mrs. Mahala Coombs came to Wapello County in 1854, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* December 24, 1930.

Fossilized shark jaw found near Des Moines, in the *Des Moines Register,* December 24, 1930.

Hangings in Iowa, in the *West Point Bee,* December 25, 1930.

Oto and Yankton Indians once fought in Iowa, in the *Ida County* (Ida Grove) *Pioneer-Record,* December 25, 1930.

Captain C. V. Gardner was Iowa County recorder, in the *Marengo Pioneer Republican,* December 25, 1930.

Coldest spots in Iowa, in the *Nora Springs Advertiser,* December 25, 1930.

Frank Reynolds wrote first book printed in Harlan, in the *Harlan Republican,* December 25, 1930.

Sketch of the life of J. K. Montgomery, in the *Fayette County* (West Union) *Union,* December 25, 1930.

Covered wagon trail from Winterset to Council Bluffs, in the *Winterset News,* December 25, 1930.

Early history of Osage, in the *Osage News,* December 25, and the *Waterloo Tribune,* December 28, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Sherman F. Myers, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph,* December 27, 30, 1930, and the *Anita Record,* January 1, 1931.

Lehigh hoax perpetrated by Mayor Russell E. Whipple, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle,* December 27, 1930.

Sketch of the life of Johanna Raab, in the *Waterloo Tribune,* December 30, 1930.

Pioneers of Mahaska County recall old times, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* December 30, 1930.

Rock Island Railroad reached Clarion in 1880, in the *Wright County* (Clarion) *Monitor,* December 31, 1930.

Early days in Cedar County, in the *Muscatine Journal,* December 31, 1930.

E. B. Knowles says Broken Kettle Creek mounds are ancient, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune* and the *Winterset Madisonian,* January 1, 1931.

History of Parkersburg and Albion Township, in the *Clarksville Star,* January 1, 1931.

Henry Clay Dean was forceful orator, in the *Williamsburg Journal-Tribune,* January 1, 1931.

Pioneer schools in Hardin County, in the *Hardin County* (Iowa Falls) *Citizen,* January 1, 1931.

Mrs. Charles S. Weaver worked forty years in Clay County courthouse, in the *Peterson Patriot,* January 1, 1931.

Madison Christian Church founded in 1881, in the *Brooklyn Chronicle,* January 1, 1931.

Vigilantes of Clinton County dispensed swift justice, in the *De Witt Observer,* January 1, 1931.

Pioneer days in Grundy County, in the *Reinbeck Courier,* January 2, 1931.

William B. Stilson was pioneer of Cerro Gordo County, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* January 2, 1931.

The Frank Ellis Museum of Archeology and Anthropology is growing, in the *Jackson* (Maquoketa) *Sentinel,* January 6, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Siefke Bohlken, in the *Le Mars Sentinel,* January 6, 1931.

Early days in Clinton County, in the *Jackson* (Maquoketa) *Sentinel,* January 6, February 5, 13, and the *Clinton Herald,* January 31, February 16, 1931.

First cabin in Butler County built at Shell Rock, in the *Aplington News,* January 7, 1931.

Hiram E. Foster came to Fayette County in 1849, in the *West Union Argo Gazette,* January 7, 1931.

First Methodist Church of Hampton is sixty years old, in the *Hampton Chronicle,* January 8, 1931.

John Graening tells of pioneer Bremer County, in the *Waverly Democrat,* January 8, 1931.

Buhrmaster's stone grist mill built in 1850, in the *Burlington Gazette,* January 10, 1931.

Early days in Fayette County, in the *Waterloo Courier,* January 10, 1931.

Sketch of the career of Robert G. Cousins, in the *Daily Iowan,* January 11, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Alphonso B. Newcomb, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* January 13, 1931.

The Des Moines River land grant, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News,* January 15, 1931.

Hanging of the Barber brothers, in the *Waverly Democrat,* January 15, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Marie Gienappe, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* January 15, 1931.

First public school in Hardin County built in 1856, in the *Hardin County* (Iowa Falls) *Citizen,* January 15, 1931.

Fayette County man foretold World War, by John McDonough, in the *Greeley Home Press,* January 15, 1931.

M. M. Carter recalls old days in Ollie, in the *Keokuk County* (Sigourney) *News,* January 15, 1931.

Washington enjoyed concert by Mendelssohn Society, in the *Washington Journal,* January 17, 1931.

Early history of Benton County, in the *Waterloo Courier,* January 17, 1931.

Mrs. Susan Moore was first white girl born in Buchanan County, in the *Waterloo Courier,* January 17, 1931.

English Lutheran Church organized at Iowa City in 1855, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* January 19, 1931.

Seventy-five years ago on the Upper Mississippi, in the *Burlington Post,* January 17, 31, 1931.

Guns were indispensable in frontier Iowa, by Cal Ogburn, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* January 22, 1931.

The Iowa-Missouri boundary dispute, in the *Melcher Union,* January 22, 1931.

Early days in Buena Vista County, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune,* January 22, 1931.

Plotting and early settlers of Bussey, in the *Bussey Record,* January 22, 1931.

Robert Alexander was pioneer in Indiana and Iowa, in the *Fayette County* (Fayette) *Leader,* January 22, 1931.

A retrospect of Andrew, by Rita Shoaf, in the *Jackson* (Maquoketa) *Sentinel,* January 23, 1931.

Lyons Methodist Church seventy-five years old in May, in the *Clinton Herald,* January 24, 1931.

The story of Kelly's Bluff, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* January 25, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Jacob Sims, by Paul T. Sturgis, in the *Sioux City Journal,* January 25, 1931.

Muscatine editors were bitter foes, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* January 27, 1931.

Grand River ridge was Indian trail, in the *Adair County* (Greenfield) *Free Press,* January 29, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Nathan Coffin, in the *Des Moines Tribune,* January 31, 1931.

Abandoned towns in Des Moines County, in the *Burlington Gazette,* January 31, 1931.

The Iowa Indians, by Mrs. Nettie Kraft, in the *Waterloo Courier,* January 31, 1931.

Dubuque had newspaper war during the Civil War, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* February 1, 1931.

Sketch of the life of "Diamond Jo" Reynolds by Walter A. Blair, in the *Davenport Democrat,* January 25, February 1, 1931.

E. S. Randall recalls old grist mill in Clinton County, in the *Clinton Herald,* February 3, 1931.

Old towns and post offices in Davis County, by B. F. Carroll, in the *Davis County* (Bloomfield) *Republican,* February 3, 1931.

Echoes from Andrew, by W. L. Rantz, in the *Jackson* (Maquoketa) *Sentinel,* February 3, 1931.

R. D. Carey, Wyoming Senator, once lived in Dubuque, in the *Cascade-Pioneer,* February 5, 1931.

Pioneer wives, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* February 5, 1931.

Iowa one hundred years ago, by Henry A. Wallace, in the *Moville Mail,* February 5, 1931.

Early days in Kossuth County, by Mrs. B. H. Winkie, in the *Kossuth County* (Algona) *Advance,* February 5, the *Humboldt Republican,* February 13, and the *Graettinger Times,* February 19, 1931.

Members of firm of Underwood & Underwood once resided at Cedar Falls, in the *Waterloo Courier,* February 6, 1931.

On the Underground Railroad in Iowa, by T. A. Kilgore, in the *Washington Journal,* February 7, 1931.

Academy played important rôle in community life, in the *Washington Journal,* February 7, 1931.

Wilton Junction once thriving community, in the *Muscatine Free Press,* February 9, 1931.

Early days in Fairfield recalled by M. Peebler, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* February 10, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Henry O. Pratt, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* February 11, 1931.

Mrs. Georgia Lahman was second white child born at Fort Dearborn, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph,* February 12, 1931.

When the Mormons settled Garden Grove, in the *Humeston New Era,* February 11, 1931.

Peter Woodring heard Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, in the *Waterloo Courier,* February 11, 1931.

M. Peebler of Livermore is oldest native Iowa man, in the *Upper Des Moines* (Algona) *Republican,* February 11, and the *Humboldt Independent,* February 17, 1931.

Early days in Tama County recalled by Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Tomlinson, in the *Tama News-Herald,* February 12, 1931.

Early days in Bremer County, in the *Bremer County* (Waverly) *Independent,* February 12, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Ed. F. Connoran, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* February 12, 1931.

Pioneers and pioneer days in the *Leon Journal-Reporter,* February 12, 1931.

Sketch of the Gregory family, in the *Morning Sun News-Herald,* February 13, 1931.

Early history in Greene County, by Lafe C. Churdan, in the *Churdan Reporter,* February 12, 19, 1931.

George S. Bushnell came to Cedar Rapids in the fifties, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* February 13, 1931.

Mrs. Fannie Tucker heard Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* February 13, 1931.

Johnson County farmers formed fire insurance company, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* February 14, 1931.

Shakespeare Club active at Washington in the eighties, in the *Washington Journal,* February 14, 1931.

Early days in Collins, in the *Ames Tribune,* February 14, 1931.

John Springer, pioneer Iowa City printer, owns many old books, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* February 15, 1931.

Early days in Hardin County, by Joe DuMond in the *Waterloo Tribune,* February 15, 1931.

Amos Potter Hall drove ox teams to Colorado, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* February 17, 1931.

Mrs. Rhoda Read came to Iowa in 1858, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* February 18, 1931.

Mrs. Rose Garth tells of pioneer days in Wright County, in the *Clarion Monitor,* February 18, 1931.

Lon F. Chapin tells of Ida Grove in 1879, in the *Ida Grove Record,* February 19, 1931.

Pioneer Bar of Hardin County, in the *Iowa Falls Citizen,* February 19, 1931.

John W. Houck came to Adams County in 1853, in the *Corning Press,* February 19, 1931.

Charles E. Eberle of Waterloo is great grandson of Black Hawk, in the *Waterloo Courier,* February 19, 1931.

Ancient graves found in Muscatine County, in the *Muscatine Journal,* February 21, 1931.

Clarence R. Aurner lists important dates in the history of the State University of Iowa, in the *Daily Iowan,* February 22, 1931.

Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, by Walter A. Blair, in the *Davenport Democrat,* February 22, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Arthur C. Savage, in the *Grinnell Herald,* February 24, and the *Adair News,* February 27, 1931.

Cornelius M. Dearinger is last survivor of 40th Iowa, in the *Cherokee Times,* February 26, 1931.

Early years of Buena Vista County, by G. S. Robinson, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune,* February 26, 1931.

Mound builders lived in northwestern Iowa, by Charles Reuben Keyes, in the *Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune,* February 26, 1931.

The old Marysville woolen mill, in the *Bussey Record,* February 26, 1931.

B. F. McFarland recalls speeches of J. P. Dolliver, in the *West Bend Journal,* February 26, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Willard C. Stuckslager, in the *Tipton Advertiser,* and the *Mt. Vernon Record,* February 26, 1931.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Missouri Historical Society held a meeting at the Jefferson Memorial on the evening of January 30, 1931. Judge J. Hugo Grimm gave an address on "Germany's Contribution to Missouri".

The Oklahoma Historical Society held its annual meeting at the Historical Society Building at Oklahoma City on January 29, 1931. Hon. Victor Murdock of Wichita, Kansas, gave an address at the evening meeting.

The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio celebrated its one hundredth anniversary on February 11, 1931. The program was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, and consisted of three parts: an afternoon program with addresses; a visit to the monument marking the site of Fort Washington; and a dinner.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Lexington, Kentucky, on April 30-May 2, 1931. Professor John L. Oliver, of the University of Pittsburgh, is chairman of the program committee, and Professor Charles M. Knapp, of the University of Kentucky, at Lexington, is chairman of the committee on local arrangements. A number of papers have been included on the program. The subject of the presidential address by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg will be "France and the Mississippi Valley".

The Minnesota Historical Society held its eighty-second annual meeting at St. Paul on January 19, 1931. The program included the following papers and addresses : "Some Personal Recollections of Minnesota Politics", by J. Adam Bede; "Selections from the Reminiscences of William Watts Folwell", read by Solon J. Buck; and "The Persistence of Populism", by John D. Hicks. There were also motion pictures from the Grand Portage region, taken in August, 1930. The Eleventh Annual Conference on Local History Week in Minnesota was held in connection with the meeting.

At this meeting Theodore C. Blegen gave a report on "The Year's Progress in Local Historical Work".

IOWA

The Webster County Historical Society was organized at Fort Dodge on January 14, 1931. Mayor C. V. Findlay presided at the meeting and was later elected president of the society. H. M. Pratt was elected vice president; Mrs. D. M. Kelleher, secretary; J. L. Hanrahan, treasurer; and Miss Maude Lauderdale, curator. The society has already made plans to establish a museum and make a collection of historical relics.

The Historical Society of Howard County held a monthly meeting at Cresco on February 9, 1931. Miss Lauraine Meade who was one of the founders of the Society was enrolled as an honorary life member. A resolution of respect was adopted in honor of the late Mrs. J. I. Rowlee. J. H. Rowe gave a review of *Trails, Rails and War,* by J. R. Perkins, with pictures from along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. C. J. Harlan is secretary of the Society.

The date selected for the sixth Iowa History Week is April 20-25, 1931. The central theme is "Ioway to Iowa", a subject taken from the title of Irving B. Richman's new book, *Ioway to Iowa : The Genesis of a Corn and Bible Commonwealth.* As an aid to the observance of Iowa History Week, the March number of *The Palimpsest* contained excerpts from the book, and selections from it were broadcast from WSUI on Friday afternoons during March. The program for the week will include two talks by Hamlin Garland to be given over WSUI on April 20th. From 9:30 to 10:00 in the morning Mr. Garland will talk to Iowa high schools and from 3:00 to 3:30 in the afternoon he will address the women's clubs of the State. Iowa History Week was inaugurated in 1926 by the State Historical Society in coöperation with the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

On February 13 and 14, 1931, Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh attended a meeting of the newly created Committee on Policy of the

American Political Science Association, which was held at Princeton, New Jersey. Dr. Shambaugh is chairman of a sub-committee working on a comprehensive plan of publications to be undertaken by the Association.

On December 10, 1930, Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave a talk on Daniel Smith Harris, Mississippi River steamboat captain, before the Lions Club at Iowa City. On February 23, 1931, he gave an illustrated talk on steamboating on the Upper Mississippi before the Des Moines History Club. "Centennials in Iowa History" was the topic of an address delivered by Dr. Petersen at Oelwein on March 9th.

The State Historical Society has recently published a unique book on early Iowa history, under the title *Ioway to Iowa : The Genesis of a Corn and Bible Commonwealth.* It is the work of Irving B. Richman of Muscatine, who is well-known as an historical writer. Among his earlier volumes are : *John Brown Among the Quakers and Other Sketches*; *Rhode Island : A Study in Separatism* (American Commonwealths Series) ; *California Under Spain and Mexico 1535-1847* ; *San Francisco Bay and California in 1776* ; and *The Spanish Conquerors* (Chronicles of America Series). His new book is written in an unusual and pleasing literary style. In addition to historical facts, it presents a keen analysis of the forces which have moulded the land of Ioway into the Commonwealth of Iowa. In this volume of four hundred and seventy-nine pages, with its dramatic presentation of events, its portrayal of humor and pathos, and its vivid description, Mr. Richman may be said to have skimmed the cream from Iowa's history. Illustrations in colors add to the beauty of the book.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Col. J. E. Bartley, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. Milo O. Hanzlik, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Louella Hightshoe, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. David W. Smouse, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mr. C. M. Stoner, Gibson, Iowa; Mrs. Etta A. Branson, Spirit Lake, Iowa; Mrs. Will Dyall, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Mrs. C. W. Gill, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr.

E. L. Kirkpatrick, Madison, Wisconsin; Mr. Arnold W. Koch, Jefferson, Iowa; Mrs. Harry E. Narey, Spirit Lake, Iowa; Mr. Ernest A. Prehm, Northwood, Iowa; Mrs. Peter Salzman, Brighton, Iowa; Mr. H. J. Thornton, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. A. J. Widman, McGregor, Iowa; Mr. John D. Beardsley, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. R. H. Beerman, Omaha, Nebraska; Dr. Harold H. Buhmann, West Union, Iowa; Mrs. Charlotte K. Butler, Peterson, Iowa; Mr. Seth B. Cairy, Whittemore, Iowa; Mr. Arthur W. Cober, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mrs. James E. Coons, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Mr. L. E. Ellis, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. G. O. Fletcher, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. C. C. Gallagher, Maquoketa, Iowa; Mr. William D. Gould, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Lt. Col. Chas. H. Grahl, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. James H. Graven, Greene, Iowa; Dr. C. E. Gross, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. C. O. Hoyt, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. D. S. Humeston, Albia, Iowa; Mr. C. W. Keyser, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Frank Krejci, Lake View, Iowa; Miss Maude Lauderdale, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. C. C. Linsenmeyer, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. Eugene A. Loetscher, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Robert H. McConnell, Thornburg, Iowa; Mr. E. A. Marks, West Branch, Iowa; Rev. J. T. Meyer, La Moille, Ill.; Mr. Oliver H. Miller, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. R. C. Montgomery, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. George W. Myers, Dubuque, Iowa; Mr. Paul A. Olson, Story City, Iowa; Mr. Tracy R. Osborne, New Sharon, Iowa; Mr. Gerhard Ottersberg, Waverly, Iowa; Mr. Henry C. Pepper, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Ray S. Pierce, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. A. Prichard, Onawa, Iowa; Mr. Wm. W. Purcell, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Albert Rocho, Boone, Iowa; Mr. Chas. B. Searle, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. H. F. Schmidt, Treynor, Iowa; Mr. E. J. Sullivan, Marengo, Iowa; Mr. William S. Timberman, Keokuk, Iowa; Mr. Frank Van Doren, Keokuk, Iowa; Mr. Robert R. Whetstone, Iowa City, Iowa; and Rev. G. B. Wilder, Red Oak, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Lucius E. Allen, of Detroit, Michigan, is compiling histories of the Allen and Wellman families, including some Iowa material.

William F. Redman, who was once register of deeds in Cass County, died in Spokane, Washington, on December 29, 1930. He was born at Davenport, Iowa, on April 17, 1854.

Professor Louis B. Schmidt of the Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, will give courses in American history and international relations at the University of Alabama during the first term of the summer school in 1931.

Dr. Allen Johnson, editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* was accidentally killed in Washington, D. C., on January 18, 1931. The work on the *Dictionary* is being continued by Dr. Dumas Malone, who became co-editor in 1929, and Dr. Harris E. Starr, associate editor.

The semi-annual meeting of the Society of Mayflower Descendants was held at Des Moines on November 21, 1930. Irving H. Hart presided. Mr. Hart and Mrs. Louis B. Schmidt gave reports on the Triennial Congress held at Plymouth, Massachusetts. The annual meeting of the society will be held at Ames on April 17, 1931.

Eli P. Clark, well-known railroad builder in Arizona and southern California, died at Los Angeles in January, 1931. He was born on a farm near Solon, Johnson County, Iowa, on November 25, 1847, and his boyhood was spent in Iowa. For a time he attended Grinnell College and later taught school. In 1875 he drove across the plains to Arizona, and for the next fifty-five years he was associated with railroad lines in the Southwest.

The Iowa Pioneer Lawmakers' Association held its twenty-third biennial meeting at the Capitol in Des Moines on February 18,

1931. George M. Titus, president of the Association, presided at the joint session of the Association and the General Assembly. The main address was given by Irving B. Richman of Muscatine, whose subject was "Pioneer Iowa Lawmakers who were Democrats". The address was printed in the journals of the House and Senate for February 26, 1931.

Oscar Regan Coast, landscape painter, died at Santa Barbara, California, on February 28, 1931, and was buried at Iowa City on March 12th. Mr. Coast was born at Salem, Ohio, on July 2, 1851, but came to Iowa City, Iowa, with his family in 1854. Although he spent much of his time in Europe, New York, and California, Mr. Coast maintained his legal residence in Iowa City until his death. He was a brother-in-law of George H. Yewell and it was largely due to his influence that the famous collection of Yewell paintings was presented to the State University of Iowa after the death of Mr. Yewell in 1923.

Early this spring the National League of Women Voters will unveil a bronze tablet in the headquarters of the League at Washington, commemorating the women who were pioneers for woman suffrage in the United States. The Iowa tablet will contain the names of twenty-four Iowa women prominent in suffrage work. This list is as follows: Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary A. Emsley Adams, Harriet Bottsford Amy, Martha C. Callanan, Mary J. Coggeshall, Byrd L. Damon, Eleanor Elizabeth Gordon, Julia Clarke Hallam, Mary Elma Hamilton, Mary Elizabeth Hunter, Caroline A. Rice Ingham, Effie McCollum Jones, Florence Hambird Koch, Anna B. Lawther, Margaret Billingsley Mills, Martha Savery Peck, Emily T. Phillips, Lizzie B. Read, Carrie C. Rutledge, Mary Augusta Safford, Ida B. Wise Smith, Rowena Edson Stevens, Eleanor Chafin Stockman, and Lanche Schandig Wolf.

CONTRIBUTORS

Abraham P. Nasatir. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1930, p. 502).

Oliver J. Felton. Born in Madison Township, Jones County, Iowa, on February 22, 1863. Educated in the rural schools and at Cornell College. Studied law with E. M. Sharon of Davenport and was admitted to the Bar in 1891. Practiced law at Oxford Junction and at Cedar Rapids.

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THE IOWA ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

Various institutions, organizations, and associations have been formed throughout the history of Iowa to carry forward and encourage scientific research. Among these, the Iowa Academy of Science has held an important place. Prior to the formation of this organization, as well as in later years, prominent scientists of Iowa have been affiliated with the American Association for the Advancement of Science and various other scientific organizations. Scientists of Iowa have also shown an interest in the State Geological Survey. Accordingly, before entering upon a discussion of the Academy of Science as such, something may be said of the influence of these earlier organizations.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

The American Association for the Advancement of Science was organized in 1848 "to promote intercourse between those who are cultivating science in different parts of the United States; to give a stronger and more general impulse and a more systematic direction to scientific research in our country; and to procure for the labors of scientific men increased facilities and a wider usefulness." At the meeting of this Association, held at Albany, in 1851, C. C. Parry of Davenport joined the organization. Two years later Theodore S. Parvin of Iowa City also became a member. At the meeting at Chicago in 1868 two more Iowans — Gustavus Hinrichs of Iowa City and William H. Pratt of Davenport — joined the Association. Due, no doubt, to the influence of these men the Association met at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1872 — the first meeting west of

the Mississippi River. At this session a considerable number of prominent Iowans, including C. E. Bessey of Ames, Asa Horr and T. M. Irish of Dubuque, J. C. Arthur of Charles City, and W. C. Preston of Iowa City, joined the Association.[1] Samuel Calvin and Thomas H. Macbride also attended this meeting.

At the conclusion of the session at Dubuque, members of the Association visited the town of McGregor and the Upper Mississippi River. Upon their return a trip across the State from Dubuque to Sioux City was planned. The group taking this trip consisted of about forty members, including five or six State Geologists, a number of botanists, and others interested in the study of natural history and the pursuits of science. The excursion was directed by Dr. C. A. White of the State University of Iowa, State Geologist of Iowa, who lectured during the two-day trip across the State.

The party stopped at Fort Dodge and devoted some time to a scientific exploration of the surrounding country — visiting the limestone quarries and kilns, coal mines, and the famous gypsum quarries. Members of the party sallied forth in various directions. Some crossed the Big Sioux River into the Territory of Dakota; others crossed the Missouri River into Nebraska. Short rides were taken into these regions, which were chiefly of interest to the botanists of the party. The region around Sioux City was found to be interesting, historically, geologically, and geographically, and many of the bluffs, rivers, forests, and quarries in that vicinity were visited by the geologists, botanists, ichthyologists, and entomologists of the party.

On the return trip the party again stopped at Fort Dodge, and drove across the country some sixteen miles to Spring-

[1] *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science,* Vol. XXI, pp. xiii, xv, xli, Vol. XXII, pp. xxv-xl.

vale — now Humboldt — to visit Humboldt College and the quarries and kilns in the vicinity of Dakota City. The excursion, touching as it did various points of scientific interest in the State, led to a better understanding of the materials in Iowa available for scientific study, and developed a closer association among scientists; indeed, it may be looked upon as a significant event in the early development of scientific research in Iowa.[2]

THE FIRST IOWA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

On January 6, 1855, Representative Richard Bonson of Dubuque introduced into the Iowa legislature, which was then in session in the Old Stone Capitol at Iowa City, a bill providing for a State Geological Survey. Four days later the measure passed the House of Representatives and was sent to the Senate where, upon motion of Senator Milton D. Browning, further action on the measure was indefinitely postponed. On January 18th the bill was again taken up in the Senate, and after an unsuccessful attempt to have it laid on the table, it passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-four to six. A few days later the measure was approved by Governor James W. Grimes.

This measure authorized the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint a State Geologist who should be "a person of competent scientific and practical knowledge of the science of geology and mineralogy", and should hold office for a term of two years, unless sooner removed by the Governor. As an assistant in this work "a skillful analytical and experimental chemist" was to be appointed. This Geologist and his assistant were authorized to begin, as soon as practicable, a thorough

[2] *Proceedings of the Association for the Advancement of Science,* Vol. XXI, appendix, pp. 280-290; Wheildon's *Scientific Excursion Across the State of Iowa,* pp. 1-8.

geological and mineralogical survey of the State, and to make an analysis of the character and quality of the soil for agricultural purposes. The assistant was to make full and complete examinations and assays of all rocks, ores, soils, or other substances submitted to him by the State Geologist, and to furnish a complete and detailed account of the results obtained.

The Geologist was directed to forward to the Governor, from time to time during the process of the survey, such specimens of rocks, ores, coals, soils, and fossils as would be proper and necessary to form a complete cabinet of specimens of geology and mineralogy of the State. He was also directed to make annual reports to the Governor setting forth the progress of the work and to present such maps and drawings as were necessary for illustrative purposes.

The salaries of the Geologist and his assistant were to be fixed by the Census Board of the State. An appropriation of two thousand five hundred dollars a year was made to defray expenses.

Under the authority of this act, James Hall, of Albany, New York, was appointed State Geologist, and J. D. Whitney, of Northampton, Massachusetts, became his assistant in the field of chemistry and mineralogy.[3]

In 1857 ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the continuance of this survey. It was provided at this time that all geological specimens and fossils collected should be given to the State University. The Governor was also authorized to have two thousand copies of the report of the State Geologist printed, transmit a copy to each mem-

[3] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1854-1855, pp. 182, 195, 218, 353; *Journal of the Senate,* 1854-1855, pp. 141, 144, 230, 286; *Laws of Iowa,* 1855, Ch. 83; Hall and Whitney's *Report on the Geological Survey of the State of Iowa,* Vol. I, pp. xi-xiii.

ber of the General Assembly, and deposit the remainder in the office of the Secretary of State.

Under the provisions of this act, an extensive volume of more than seven hundred pages was published in 1858, setting forth in detail the results of the survey during the previous three years. The first chapter of this volume was prepared by Mr. Whitney and was devoted to a consideration of the physical geography of the State — dealing with such sub-topics as the boundaries, area, and configuration of the surface of the State; obstructions to navigation; tributaries of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers; mounds, prairies, and bluffs; and the soil, vegetation, and climate of Iowa.

The two chapters following were prepared by Mr. Hall, and dealt with the geology of the Northwest, and the geology of Iowa, respectively. Two chapters of the report, presented by A. H. Worthen, were devoted to the geology of the Des Moines Valley, and the geology of certain counties. The work on county geology was continued by Mr. Whitney, who also contributed an additional chapter dealing with chemistry and economic geology. Part two of the report, consisting of some two hundred and fifty pages prepared by Mr. Hall, was devoted to a discussion of the paleontology of Iowa.[4]

Following the publication of this report, no provision was made for continuing this work until the meeting of the Eleventh General Assembly in 1866, when a bill was passed providing for the reorganization of the Survey. This act provided that Charles A. White of Johnson County be appointed State Geologist for a term of two years, and authorized the appointment of a competent assistant, and a "skill-

[4] Hall and Whitney's *Report on the Geological Survey of the State of Iowa,* Vol. I, see table of contents; *Laws of Iowa,* 1857, Ch. 103; Joint Resolution No. 25, in *Laws of Iowa,* 1857, p. 465.

ful analytical and experimental Chemist'', who should report to the State Geologist the analysis of such soils, rocks, coals, ores, and other mineral substances as might be submitted to him.

The salary of the State Geologist was fixed at two thousand dollars, and he was authorized to fix the salary of his assistant at a sum not to exceed fifteen hundred dollars per year. For the purpose of carrying this act into effect an appropriation of six thousand five hundred dollars annually for two years was provided. Chandler Childs of Dubuque was appointed field assistant. A few months later he was succeeded by Orestes H. St. John of Waterloo. Gustavus Hinrichs was appointed chemist.[5]

The work accomplished during the fifties had been confined for the most part to a study of the eastern section of the State. Accordingly, under the authority of this new act, work was commenced and prosecuted with a view to obtaining a knowledge of the geological structure of the western part of the State and gathering all possible information concerning the mineral and other material resources of the State as a whole. Special attention was given to a study of the coal fields, the character of the soil, and the physical features.

In 1867 a preliminary report was prepared to be presented to the General Assembly, and in the spring of 1868 an additional annual appropriation of six thousand five hundred dollars was provided to carry the work forward — the State Geologist and his assistants being directed to complete the survey by January, 1870.[6]

[5] *Laws of Iowa,* 1866, Ch. 73; *First and Second Annual Report of the State Geologist,* 1868, pp. 5, 6.

[6] *Laws of Iowa,* 1868, Ch. 178; White's *Report on the Geological Survey of the State of Iowa* (1870), Vol. I, pp. 7-12; *First and Second Annual Report of the State Geologist,* 1868, pp. 1-19.

When the Thirteenth General Assembly met in 1870 a bill was passed authorizing the Census Board to contract with the State Printer for the printing of three thousand copies of the State Geological Report, which it was designated should be "equal in every respect, mechanically, to Hall's Geological Report" — the engravings, views, maps, and diagrams to be equally as well executed.

In accordance with the provisions of this law two volumes of about four hundred pages each were published in 1870. The first volume consisted of three parts. Part one contained three chapters, written by Mr. White, dealing with surface features, surface deposits, and soils. The fourth and final chapter of part one was prepared by T. S. Parvin and was a discussion of climate and climatic conditions. Part two, prepared by Mr. White and O. H. St. John, dealt with the subject of general geology — the Azoic, Lower Silurian, Upper Silurian, and Devonian; Carboniferous; and Cretaceous systems. Part three, prepared by Mr. White, dealt with the geology of southwestern Iowa.

Volume two of this work consisted of two parts. Part one contained a chapter by Mr. St. John dealing with the geology of the middle region of western Iowa. Three chapters written by Mr. White dealt with the geology of northwestern Iowa, the middle region of northern Iowa, and the coal counties. Part two consisted of three chapters, by Mr. White, dealing respectively with peat and petroleum, gypsum, and building materials; and a fourth chapter, by Rush Emery, on the subject of chemistry.[7]

After the discontinuance of this survey under Mr. White no further work was done under State supervision until 1892 — a lapse of more than twenty years. Meanwhile, two private surveys, both of unusual merit and outstanding

[7] *Laws of Iowa,* 1870, Ch. 111; White's *Report on the Geological Survey of the State of Iowa* (1870), Vols. I and II, see table of contents.

importance in the advancement of scientific research, were made in Iowa. For a number of years W J McGee conducted extensive examinations of the glacial deposits in northeastern Iowa. The results, originally intended to appear in other forms, grew so voluminous that they were finally incorporated in a large monograph and published by the Federal government in the *Eleventh Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey.*

In the field of paleontology, Charles Wachsmuth and Frank Springer conducted comprehensive studies on certain groups of fossils. A report of this work was published in *Memoirs of the Museum of Comparative Zoology* and has been referred to as "one of the most exhaustive contributions ever made to the literature of American science". Both of these studies are highly creditable to the authors and of great value to the State. They would have reflected a much larger share of credit to the Commonwealth, however, had they been supported by the State instead of by private enterprise.[8]

It will be recalled that the law of 1857 provided that all geological specimens and fossils collected by the State Geological Survey should be given to the State University. In 1872 this law was amended to provide that complete sets of specimens should be given to the University and that duplicate specimens should be given to the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.[9]

Thus it appears that when the Iowa Academy of Sciences was established in 1875 the field of geology had been studied over a period of more than twenty years and that reports had been made setting forth in a very creditable manner the results obtained. This work, although but a beginning

[8] *Laws of Iowa,* 1892, Ch. 71; *Iowa Geological Survey,* Vol. I, p. 3, Vol. XXII, pp. 62, 63, 132-139.

[9] *Laws of Iowa,* 1857, Ch. 103, 1872, Ch. 105; *Revision of 1860,* Sec. 187.

in a limited field, served as a foundation upon which to build the more diversified work which was to be undertaken by the Academy of Sciences.

THE IOWA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
1875–1884

On August 27, 1875, a meeting of persons interested in the organization of a scientific association for the State of Iowa met at the State University. This group consisted of C. E. Bessey, D. S. Fairchild, and J. K. Macomber, of Ames; Gustavus Hinrichs, W. C. Preston, and E. F. Clapp, of Iowa City; W. D. Middleton of Davenport; and A. G. Field of Des Moines. These men, together with Samuel Calvin of Iowa City, Asa Horr of Dubuque, C. C. Parry of Davenport, P. J. Farnsworth of Clinton, and J. E. Todd of Tabor, who were not present but had previously expressed their desire to join such an organization, became the charter members of the Iowa Academy of Sciences.

The constitution which was adopted at this time set forth as the purpose of the Academy "the promotion of Science, more particularly that pertaining to the State of Iowa". A president, vice president and a secretary-treasurer, who were jointly to constitute a board of trustees, were to be elected annually. Fellows in the organization were to be limited in number to thirty and to "such persons as have done good scientific work". Provision was made that the Academy should hold at least two meetings a year — one in the spring at Iowa City, and one in the fall at such other place as might be designated. Election of officers resulted in the naming of C. E. Bessey, as president, W. D. Middleton, as vice president, and W. C. Preston, as secretary-treasurer.

Plans were made to hold the next meeting in Des Moines on the evening preceding the regular meeting of the State

Medical Society in February, 1876. It was agreed that at this Des Moines meeting each charter member should be allowed to present the name of one candidate for membership. Recommendations and reasons based upon the scientific work of the candidate were to be forwarded to the secretary-treasurer before the date of the meeting.[10]

In accordance with the plans previously made, the Academy met in the office of Dr. A. G. Field in Des Moines on the evening of January 25, 1876. This session is referred to in the reports as the first semi-annual meeting of the Academy. Only five members — Hinrichs, Middleton, Farnsworth, Fairchild, and Field — were present. In the absence of President Bessey and Secretary Preston, Dr. Middleton, vice president of the Academy, presided; and Dr. Fairchild was elected secretary *pro tem.* During the business session articles of incorporation were presented and approved, and five candidates — D. S. Sheldon and R. J. Farquharson, of Davenport, C. M. Hobby of Wilton, G. C. Carpenter of Indianola, and F. M. Witter of Muscatine — were nominated for membership in the Academy.

A paper on "Changes of Climate in Iowa" was presented by Professor Hinrichs. After a full exposition of the investigation of climatic changes in various parts of the world, Professor Hinrichs entered into an exhaustive discussion of the meteorological observations that had been made in Iowa. These, he said, showed that the summers had been growing steadily warmer and the winters colder. He observed, moreover, that if these changes continued at the same rate during the next seventy-five years the summers

[10] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 2, 5, 6. This pamphlet was published by John P. Irish in 1880. So far as the writer knows there are but two copies remaining. One of these is in the possession of James H. Lees at Des Moines; the other was bound by Samuel Calvin with several other pamphlets and designated as *Paleontology Pamphlets,* Vol. I, and is now (1931) in the Geology Library at the State University of Iowa.

would become like those of Louisiana and the winters like those of Duluth, Minnesota. The importance to the State of securing correct observations of these changes, for the purpose of determining whether such changes were likely to make further progress, and what means might be employed to check them, was fully set forth by Professor Hinrichs. The paper elicited an interesting discussion, at the conclusion of which the meeting adjourned.[11]

The first regular annual meeting of the Academy convened in the natural history room of the State University at Iowa City on June 23, 1876, with President C. E. Bessey presiding. The members present were C. E. Bessey, Gustavus Hinrichs, F. M. Witter, P. J. Farnsworth, Samuel Calvin, and W. C. Preston.

President Bessey presented "A Preliminary Catalogue of the Lichens of Iowa". His list of twenty-six species, collected principally in central Iowa, included, it was believed, about one-fifth of the lichens of the State. He also presented "A Catalogue of the Orthoptera of Iowa", including thirty-nine species found in central and southeastern Iowa. Dr. Farnsworth read a paper on "Mounds and Mound Builders" in which he presented the view that the mound builders were identical in race with the North American Indians. His evidence was based upon resemblances of anatomical structure and the modes of burial of the mound builders and the Indians.

Dr. Hinrichs presented maps and diagrams of the severe hail storm in Iowa, on April 12, 1876. Dr. Calvin described seven new species of Paleozoic fossils found in Howard and Floyd counties. He also presented a paper, entitled "Notes on a Probable New Species of Fossil Elephant", from the modified drift near West Union. "The Deposits

[11] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 6, 7; *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 26, 1876.

of the Chemung Group in Iowa'' was also discussed by Dr. Calvin. F. M. Witter read a paper on the land and fresh water shells found near Muscatine, of which he had determined fifty-two species. W. C. Preston discussed ''Thermic Wind Rose for Iowa City'', showing the relation between wind and temperature, as deduced from three years' observation at the State University of Iowa.

Two other papers, one by Dr. Bessey on ''The Colors of Iowa Wild Flowers'', and one by Professor Hinrichs on ''The Constitution of the Water from the Deep Lying Rocks of Iowa'', concluded the program. The discussion by Mr. Hinrichs was based upon an analysis of water from an artesian well twenty-five hundred feet deep at Oskaloosa and a well twelve hundred feet deep at Mount Pleasant. This chemical analysis showed that the water from the deep well more nearly resembled water of the sea than did surface water. Professor Hinrichs exhibited to the members present a photograph of the Amana Meteorite Collection which he had made.

Candidates nominated for membership in the Academy included W. H. Herrick of Grinnell, F. E. Nipher of St. Louis, Missouri, Thomas Pope of Ames, P. H. Philbrick of Iowa City, and Chas. Wachsmuth of Burlington. A motion was passed that any member of the Academy who was absent for two consecutive years and failed to contribute a paper during that time should be dropped from the roll of membership. It was agreed that the fall meeting of the Academy should be held at Ames. The officers who had served during the preceding year were reëlected for another term.[12]

The second semi-annual meeting of the Academy was held at Ames on October 6, 1876, with President C. E.

[12] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 7-10; *Iowa City Daily Press,* June 27, 1876; *The University Reporter,* October 15, 1876.

Bessey presiding. In the absence of W. C. Preston, G. C. Carpenter served as secretary *pro tem.* Only four members of the Academy were present, and the program consisted chiefly of papers by Dr. Bessey. The first of these was "Some Observations upon the Growth of Plants Made by Means of the Arc-Indicator". A second paper by Dr. Bessey was upon the subject "A Case of Natural Selection". In this paper the writer noted the rapid increase of *Trifolium repens* and *Panicum sanguinale* upon a certain lawn, as a result of a closer and more frequent mowing. These decumbent plants, not being as much injured by this treatment as the ordinary lawn grasses, were enabled to increase more rapidly. Another paper presented by Professor Bessey dealt with "Observations on Silphium Laciniatum, the so-called 'Compass Plant' ". This latter paper gave in detail the result of a large number of observations upon the polarity of the leaves, and was published in the *American Naturalist* for August, 1877. Still another paper, prepared by Herbert Osborn, but read by Professor Bessey, dealt with "The Odonata of Central Iowa". Professor Macomber presented a paper on "A Method of Representing the Various Meteorological Phenomena on Charts".[13]

The next meeting of the Iowa Academy of Sciences — the second annual meeting — was a two-day session held at the State University at Iowa City on May 3 and 4, 1877. President C. E. Bessey presided. The first paper read on this occasion was one by Dr. Charles Wachsmuth of Burlington, dealing with "Paleozoic Crinoids". Burlington was referred to as "the El Dorado of the world for the study of these fossils". Dr. Wachsmuth who had lived at Burlington for eighteen years and had collected more than four hundred species was well qualified to speak on the sub-

[13] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, p. 10.

ject presented. Professor Calvin commented upon the presentation made by Dr. Wachsmuth, "and warmly congratulated the Academy on the possession of a member who could present so able a paper". Professor Hinrichs read a paper, which was referred to as "all too short", on "The Relation between Cloudiness and Solar Radiation". Professor Hinrichs had of recent years been "the leader in the west in the study of meteorology" and presented in this paper the results of much study and observation.

At the evening session, Professor Preston presented a paper, "The Relation Between Winds and Barometric Pressure", based upon some two thousand observations made during the years 1873-1875. G. C. Carpenter presented a discussion of the "Origin of the Iowa Prairie Soil", in which he refuted the statement that Iowa soil is unfit for the growth of forests. The absence of forest trees, it was explained, was due to the fact that "too short a time has intervened since the withdrawal of the fresh-water lakes", and to the closeness of the turf, preventing germination of tree seeds.

On the second day of the session Professor Carpenter presented a contribution on "The Birds of Warren County", enumerating eighty-six distinct species which he had collected. Professor Calvin gave an account of the finding of the jawbone of a fossil American elephant, near Marengo, and presented the specimen to the Academy. Considerable discussion followed on the subject of fossils. At the business session the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: C. E. Bessey, president; W. H. Herrick, vice president; and Samuel Calvin, secretary. An assessment of five dollars was levied on each member of the Academy for the purpose of publishing its proceedings, and Professor Hinrichs was appointed editor. The next meet-

ing, it was agreed, should be held at Ames on the last Wednesday of September.[14]

On September 26, 1877, the semi-annual meeting of the Academy convened at Ames. The members present were: Bessey, Macomber, Pope, Fairchild, Hinrichs, Calvin, Todd, and Field. President Bessey presented a paper on "Further Observations upon Silphium Laciniatum", this being a continuation of the subject discussed by him the previous year at the semi-annual meeting. Professor Todd presented "Notes on the Distribution of Timber in Southwestern Iowa, with Inferences Concerning the Origin of Prairies", and also spoke of the remains of an elephant found at the bottom of the bluff deposit near Glenwood. Professor Hinrichs spoke of storms on July 31 and August 27-29, 1877, and Professor Calvin presented notes on an interesting deposit of travertine near Decorah. The Academy then adjourned to meet at Iowa City at the call of the president.[15]

In the spring of 1878 the Academy met for a two-day session at Iowa City. The members present, in addition to President Bessey, were Wachsmuth, Hinrichs, Preston, Philbrick, Clapp, Hobby, Witter, and Calvin. At the opening session Professor Bessey presented a paper, "On the Affinities of the Uredineae". Professor Hinrichs discussed "The Great Storm of April 21, 1878", and Dr. Wachsmuth presented the subject, "Zoological Position of the Blastoidea".

On the second day of the session a business meeting was held at which Professor Hinrichs reported that no publications had been issued, as previously planned, chiefly because abstracts of papers had not been forwarded to him. Ac-

[14] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 11, 13; *Iowa City Daily Press,* May 4, 1877.

[15] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 13, 14.

cordingly, it was voted that proceedings with titles of papers be published during the ensuing year.

At this meeting Frank Springer of Cimarron, New Mexico, was elected to fellowship and Professor Barnard of Oskaloosa, W. H. Barris of Davenport, J. D. Putnam of Davenport, and Fred Reppert of Muscatine were proposed for membership. Upon invitation of Professor Herrick of Iowa College it was agreed to hold the next meeting at Grinnell.

At the close of the business session the following papers were presented: "On the Size and Strength of Tree Trunks, above and below the Point of Branching", by B. F. Hoyt; "Some Geological Phenomena near Solon, Iowa", by Samuel Calvin; "The Rain Maps of the State for the Several Months of 1877", by Gustavus Hinrichs; and "Some Defects in Vision," by F. M. Witter. In presenting this latter subject the speaker expressed the view that "many of the defects in vision are due to excess of reading in early life, often much earlier than might be expected, say from ten to fifteen years of age. Poor print, dim light, unseasonable hours, what is commonly known as 'light reading' is in every way well calculated to produce a race of men and women with weak and defective eyes."[16]

The Iowa Academy of Sciences held its next meeting in the chemical lecture room at Iowa College, Grinnell, on October 18, 1878. The group which attended this meeting was not large but it represented the most advanced scientific thought of the day. C. E. Bessey, Gustavus Hinrichs, D. S. Fairchild, W. H. Herrick, Thomas E. Pope, P. J. Farnsworth, J. E. Todd, and Samuel Calvin were among those present.

The following members presented papers: Professor

[16] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 14-16.

Herrick, "Observations on Prairie Soil"; Professor Bessey, "On the Distribution of the Seventeen-year Cicada of the Brood of 1878, in Iowa"; Professor Todd, "On the Roots and Root-marks found in the Loess"; and Professor Hinrichs, "Results of the Magnetic Survey of Iowa in 1878". Professor Todd presented a second paper dealing with the cross-fertilization in flowers, in which he discussed the adaptations of the Iris and other plants for cross-fertilization by insects.[17]

No record appears of any meeting of the Academy in the spring of 1879. In October of that year, however, a two-day session was held at Iowa City and an interesting program was presented. The members present were Bessey, Hinrichs, Preston, Wachsmuth, Todd, Farnsworth, Hobby, Clapp, Philbrick, Macomber, Fairchild, and Calvin. Thomas H. Macbride of Iowa City, who had been nominated for membership at a previous meeting, and W J McGee of Farley, who came on invitation, were also present at the meeting. At the business session Mr. Macbride was elected to membership in the Academy, and W J McGee, Nathan R. Leonard of Iowa City, and Foster E. L. Beale of Ames were nominated for membership.

The Academy gave special attention to active membership. In 1876 a motion had been passed that any member who should fail to be present or contribute a paper for two years should be dropped from the roll of membership. At the business session in 1879 a motion was made and carried that the secretary be instructed to strike the names of inactive members from the list.

The papers presented at this meeting covered a wide range of subjects. Dr. Hobby presented a "Preliminary Report upon the Fresh Water Algae of Iowa", giving a list of sixty-two species and twenty-six genera. Professor

[17] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 16, 17.

Todd spoke again, as he had the previous year, on the subject of cross-fertilization of plants. Dr. Bessey presented a botanical map of the United States. Professor Macomber spoke of "The Chambers Lightning Protection"; and Professor Hinrichs presented "Results of the Magnetic Survey of Iowa and Missouri".

On the second day of the session, papers were presented by Dr. Wachsmuth, Professors Bessey, Todd, and Hinrichs, and Mr. W J McGee. As a closing number on the program, Professor Hinrichs discussed the publications of the Iowa Weather Service.

The committee on nominations reported, recommending the election of the following officers: C. E. Bessey, president; F. M. Witter, vice president; and Samuel Calvin, secretary. The report was adopted, and Professor Bessey was elected president for the fifth time, having served continuously since the organization of the Academy in 1875.[18]

The annual meeting in 1880 convened on June 24th, at Iowa City for a two-day session. A paper dealing with recent wind action upon the loess, and another discussing the charcoal streak in the loess, both of which were prepared by Professor Todd, were read by Mr. McGee. Professor Witter presented a paper on "The Cabbage Butterfly", and Professor Bessey discussed "The Morphology of the Iris Leaf". Other papers were presented by Professor Herrick, Dr. Wachsmuth, and Professor Preston.

At the evening session Professor Preston appeared again, reading a paper prepared by Professor Herrick on the subject "A Gasoline Combustion Furnace". Professor Philbrick presented the subject of "Applied Mechanics — Analysis of Double Intersection Bridges". Professors Bessey and Hinrichs also appeared on the evening program.

[18] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 17-21.

On the second day of the session Professor Macbride spoke on "Observations on Cyclosis". Dr. Hobby presented a study of fresh water algae in Iowa. Professor Philbrick discussed new methods of finding the approximate roots of numbers; and Professor Hinrichs spoke on the subject — "Tornado Tracks and Tornado Warnings". At the closing session, officers were elected for the ensuing year, C. E. Bessey being reëlected president. Charles Wachsmuth was named vice president, and C. M. Hobby secretary-treasurer.

The *Proceedings* of the Academy from 1875 to 1880 were published in pamphlet form by John P. Irish. Whether these were paid for by the Academy or by Mr. Irish or others does not appear. A meeting of the Iowa Academy was held on September 5, 1882, and it is probable that other meetings were held as late as 1884. After that date no meetings were held, and the organization ceased to exist, because of a lapse of membership — it having previously been provided that members failing to attend a meeting or present a paper for two consecutive years should be dropped from the membership roll.[19]

THE IOWA ACADEMY OF SCIENCE
1887–1900

In 1887 interest in an organization which should foster scientific research and development was revived, and steps were taken to reorganize the Iowa Academy of Science. In response to a circular letter sent out by a committee consisting of Samuel Calvin, T. H. Macbride, L. W. Andrews, Herbert Osborn, and R. E. Call a meeting was held in Des Moines at the Kirkwood House in December, 1887, and a new Iowa Academy of Science was organized

[19] *Iowa Academy of Sciences,* 1875-1880, pp. 21-26; *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 9; minutes of meeting of September 5, 1882, in the Secretary's Record, p. 48.

much after the fashion of the one which had disappeared a few years before. In addition to the men who had signed the invitation calling the meeting, J. E. Todd, B. D. Halsted, F. M. Witter, and H. W. Parker attended the meeting and became charter members of the new organization. Among the men who participated in the work of reorganization, four members — Calvin, Macbride, Todd, and Witter — had been members of the former Academy prior to 1880.[20]

The situation facing the Academy in its early years can, perhaps, best be presented in the words of Herbert Osborn, first president of the new organization. "In the founding of this Society", he said, "we have recognized the existence of problems in our State demanding scientific investigation. We have recognized, too, the well known principle of advantage in organized effort, the added stimulus and benefit accruing to associated work. We find the field broad and the work in waiting great. We find our numbers small and frequently broken into by removals of our members to more remunerative or attractive fields of labor. We find much that might discourage, but we may look with profit to what has been here accomplished under conditions possibly more discouraging than ours."[21]

The growth of the Academy during the first decade of its history was not rapid, but gradual, and a matter of distinct encouragement to those interested in its development. During the first year of its existence only four new names were added to the membership roll. During the second year seven new members were added. With a comparatively small initial membership the Academy experienced difficul-

[20] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 6, 7. The constitution adopted, as printed in the first volume of *Proceedings* gave the name "Iowa Academy of Science", but the plural "Sciences" was used in the *Proceedings* until about 1906, when the term "Science" came to be generally used.

[21] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 38, 39.

ty in financing the publication of its proceedings. Indeed, the printing of the first proceedings was financed by Herbert Osborn, who was later reimbursed for the money expended. It was not long, however, until the value of these proceedings was recognized, and in 1892 the Twenty-fourth General Assembly provided for their publication as an appendix to the reports of the State Horticultural Society. At the following session of the General Assembly an act was adopted providing for the separate publication of these reports.[22]

All members of the Academy were at first of equal rank and were designated as "fellows".[23] In 1894, however, the constitution provided for associate members and corresponding fellows in addition to those members who were designated as fellows. Under this plan of organization residents of the State engaged directly in scientific research were made eligible to membership as fellows. Any resident of Iowa interested in the progress of science, although not engaged in original research, might become an associate fellow. Persons engaged in scientific work but residing outside of the State of Iowa might become corresponding fellows. Any fellow upon his removal from the State might retain membership in the organization as a corresponding fellow. An entrance fee of three dollars and an annual fee of a dollar were prescribed. Any member who failed to pay his dues for two years in succession was to be dropped from the roll.[24]

By 1890 membership in the Academy had grown to forty-three, thirty of whom were fellows, five associate fellows and eight corresponding fellows.[25] At the decennial meet-

[22] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 3; *Laws of Iowa,* 1892, Ch. 62, 1894, Ch. 86.

[23] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 5.

[24] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. II, p. 10.

[25] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 3-5.

ing in 1896 Herbert Osborn, then secretary-treasurer, spoke encouragingly in his report of the work in hand. "Comparison with our modest beginning, and with our struggles in earlier years to secure a solid foundation and to provide for the publication of results", he said, "warrants us in a feeling of satisfaction and of encouragement for renewed effort for the future." By 1900 something of the hopes and aspirations of the members of the organization had been realized. Membership had increased to more than one hundred and fifty — fifty-six fellows, fifty-three associate fellows, and forty-five corresponding fellows.[26]

A detailed study of the activities of the various members of the Academy during the early years of its history would be both interesting and profitable. Obviously, however, a biographical sketch, however short, of each member of the organization would be beyond the scope of this study. It is equally apparent that to select any group of men who seem to be outstanding in this organization would be to omit from consideration other groups who were equally zealous, and who worked with equal diligence for the welfare of the Academy and for the advancement of science. Thus to mention the services of Herbert Osborn, Samuel Calvin, Thomas H. Macbride, and L. H. Pammel, and these alone, great as their services have been, would be to omit from consideration the outstanding contributions made by J. E. Todd, L. W. Andrews, C. C. Nutting, Bohumil Shimek, and a long list of others who were active in making the history of the early years of the Academy.

The presidents of the Academy prior to 1900 were, without exception, men well qualified for leadership in the organization. The list includes the following men: Herbert Osborn, J. E. Todd, F. M. Witter, C. C. Nutting, L. H.

[26] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. III, p. 13, Vol. VII, pp. 8-10.

Pammel, L. W. Andrews, H. W. Norris, T. P. Hall, W. S. Franklin, T. H. Macbride, W. S. Hendrixson, and W. H. Norton. Each of these men served for but a single term during this period, except Mr. Nutting who served for two terms. During a later decade Mr. Pammel was again elected president and thus served a second term. The office of secretary-treasurer, upon which much of the work of the organization devolved, was held during these years by R. Ellsworth Call, 1887-1891; Herbert Osborn, 1892-1898; H. F. Bain, 1899; and S. W. Beyer, 1900.[27]

The marked increase in the number and variety of papers presented before the Academy gave evidence of the growth of interest in the organization and the principles for which it stood. At the first meeting twelve papers were presented, and the abstracts of nine of these were printed.[28] At each succeeding annual meeting the number of papers increased. For the period from 1887 to 1900 some three hundred and fifty papers were presented by about eighty different men. Among the contributors were anthropologists, archeologists, biologists, botanists, chemists, geologists, physicists, and zoölogists — each working for the advancement of science in his particular field.[29]

According to its constitution the Academy had for its aim and purpose "the encouragement of scientific work in the State of Iowa".[30] Such work might well be pursued for its cultural effect — a study of science for the delight and satisfaction which it affords. An examination of the reports indicates, however, that members of the Academy

[27] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 2, Pt. 2, p. 3, Vol. VI, p. 4, Vol. VIII, p. 1.

[28] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 8-18.

[29] This information was compiled from the cumulative index in Vol. XXV of the *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science.*

[30] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 5.

were practical men of affairs and not merely theorists, and that many of the researches were made in connection with the practical scientific problems of the day.

At the first annual meeting of the second Academy reference was made to the work that might be accomplished by means of a geological survey. Within five years such a survey was established by the legislature, and from the date of its establishment in 1892 until the present time its work has been carried forward in a manner commensurate with the needs of the State.[31]

The attention of the Academy was early directed to the natural resources of the State, not only in one but in many fields. Interest was shown in a study of underground water and the possibility of drilling artesian wells. Papers dealing with the subject of deep and artesian wells were presented by various members of the Academy during the decade of the nineties. In 1894 Arthur J. Jones presented a "Record of the Grinnell Deep Boring". The following year Francis M. Fultz discussed "Some Facts Brought to Light by Deep Wells in Des Moines County", and in 1898 he discussed "The Burlington Artesian Well". The subject was presented in a more comprehensive manner by R. Ellsworth Call in 1891 in a paper on "Artesian Wells in Iowa". The author pointed out that four-fifths of the area of the State had been demonstrated to possess artesian conditions. He stated, however, that in the southwestern and south-central parts of the State it would probably not pay to drill for artesian water.[32]

Papers were likewise frequently presented on the chemical analysis of water. In 1892 in a paper on the "Analysis

[31] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 28; *Laws of Iowa,* 1892, Ch. 71.

[32] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 57-63, Vol. II, p. 31, Vol. III, p. 62, Vol. VI, p. 70.

of Water for Railway Engines", C. O. Bates gave a comparison of the water taken from a well at Albert Lea, Minnesota, and that from the Cedar River at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The water from the river was shown to be better than that from the well as it contained a smaller per cent of solids and also less alkali in solution. In 1900 an analysis of potable water was presented in which it was shown that the water from a well at Mt. Vernon contained from 20 per cent to 25 per cent less calcium and magnesium carbonates than any other water of the State which had been examined.[33]

The discovery of natural gas in several places in Iowa was commented upon from time to time during the first decade of the existence of the Academy. Its occurrence was first noted in 1886. In 1890, when F. M. Witter presented a paper on the "Gas Wells Near Letts, Iowa", a more widespread interest in the subject was shown by members of the Academy. At that time there were several wells in Muscatine and Louisa counties that were furnishing gas for light and heat in surrounding communities. In 1892 Charles Rollin Keyes discussed the possibility of the extensive use of natural gas and oil in Iowa. He expressed the view that although gas and oil are widely distributed throughout the State, the geologic structure is such that these products can not be made available in any large quantities. Apparently the last mention made of gas and oil, before the Academy during the period under consideration, was in 1896 when A. G. Leonard read a paper on "Natural Gas in the Drift of Iowa".[34]

The coal beds in Iowa have likewise been frequently dis-

[33] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 3, p. 27, Vol. VIII, pp. 104-109.

[34] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 68, Pt. 3, p. 15, Vol. IV, p. 41.

cussed by members of the Academy. In 1891 Charles Rollin Keyes discussed some of the popular misunderstandings regarding the extent and location of coal beds. He pointed out that the earlier formed coal seams are more extensive, both geographically and vertically, than the later ones. The coal of Iowa may be regarded as distributed in innumerable lenticular basins, sometimes several miles in diameter and six or seven feet in thickness, sometimes only a few hundred yards in extent. Mr. Keyes also stated that although the aggregate amount of coal is greater than was previously supposed, the small basins may be so located that a boring may pass through a score or more coal horizons without meeting more than one or two veins of sufficient thickness for profitable working.

In a paper presented in 1893 on the subject of "Coal Measures of Poweshiek County", A. J. Jones discussed the probability of coal in paying quantities in that county. Coal had been found in paying quantities in adjoining counties and some three feet of coal had recently been found at a depth of 157 feet in the southeastern part of the county. Mr. Jones expressed the belief that coal measures extended over the entire southern tier of townships, including the towns of Searsboro, Montezuma, and Deep River. In 1896 Mr. Keyes presented a paper on "Stages of the Des Moines, or Chief Coal-bearing Series of Kansas and Southwest Missouri and Their Equivalents in Iowa". In 1900 he again discussed the subject of "Names of Coals West of the Mississippi River".[35]

Other natural resources which were discussed at meetings of the Academy included clay, zinc, aluminum, lead, and cement materials. Papers dealing with the value of the extensive supply of clay in Iowa appeared in 1891 and

[35] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 27, Pt. 4, p. 59, Vol. IV, p. 22, Vol. VIII, p. 128.

in 1895. In the first of these — "Brick and Other Clays of Des Moines" — Charles Rollin Keyes called attention to the fact that since clays have a variety of properties, an indiscriminate working of deposits is not attended by the highest economic results. In the second paper — "Clays of the Indianola Brick, Tile, and Pottery Works" — L. A. Youtz arrived at the same conclusion and also stated that if the clay of the Indianola deposits were mixed with the necessary amount of free silica, a very superior fire brick could be made. The fusibility of brick made by this method had not been determined, but Mr. Youtz believed that the experiment would prove successful.[36]

The aluminum industry is closely associated with clay. Charles Rollin Keyes in a paper read in 1891 — "Aluminum in Iowa" — pointed out that there was at Hampton, Iowa, a plant which was working clay that yielded three ounces more aluminum to the bushel than that obtained in any other known locality in the West and probably in the United States. Mr. Keyes expressed the view that Iowa has within its borders inexhaustible supplies of good clay admirably suited to this purpose. It was his prediction that when "the industry shall have become thoroughly established the gold fields of California, of Australia, of indeed the whole world will sink into insignificance as compared with the wealth coming from this source".[37]

A. G. Leonard was the author of two papers on lead and zinc in Iowa. The first — "The Occurrence of Zinc in Northeastern Iowa" — was presented in 1893, and the other — "Lansing Lead Mines" — in 1894. It was shown that, contrary to the usual situation, lead and zinc are frequently found together in Iowa, and in one instance a mine which

[36] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 29, Vol. III, p. 40.

[37] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 29, 30.

had produced $25,000 worth of lead was reworked and produced $50,000 worth of zinc.[38]

An interesting dissertation appeared in 1894 on "Cement Materials in Iowa", by E. H. Lonsdale. The discovery had previously been made that a mixture of chalk with clay or river mud produced a very satisfactory substitute for portland cement. Because of the existence of chalk beds in Woodbury County, and other places throughout the State to a lesser extent, combined with extensive clay deposits, Mr. Lonsdale expressed the view that there is no reason why the Iowa material might not be used with success equal to that attained at other points.[39]

Among the papers presented at a meeting of the Academy during these early years of its history were several dealing with the subject of bacteriology. In the year 1893, L. H. Pammel, the president, addressed the society on "Bacteria, Their Relation to Modern Medicine, the Arts and Industries". Mr. Pammel dealt with the subject under six heads — history, methods of study, structure, question of species, hygienic problems, and the relation of bacteria to agriculture and other industries — in an effort to correct some of the contemporary notions regarding bacteria.

Besides this comprehensive study, other papers dealing with more limited phases of the subject appeared from time to time. In 1892 Mr. Pammel had presented a paper on the bacteria of milk, cream, and cheese, explaining the nature and action of certain bacteria in rendering milk sour.

In 1899 Dr. G. H. Hill, a representative of the medical profession, demonstrated the practical utility of bacteriology in a paper on the "Klebs-Leoffler Bacillus" — the germ which causes diphtheria. He showed the remarkable

[38] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 4, p. 48, Vol. II, p. 36.

[39] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. II, p. 172.

results which were obtained during the first few years after the discovery of the germ and the antitoxin used to combat it.

In 1900 C. H. Eckles contributed two articles on methods of determination of bacteria in milk, and two articles were presented on the bacteriological analysis of water, dealing with water mainly as a source of typhoid fever.[40]

One of the outstanding interests of the Academy and one of the fields in which it had a great deal of influence even in these early years was in the matter of conservation of natural resources of the State. This interest was due, in a large measure, to the efforts of Dr. T. H. Macbride, who has been a constant devotee to such endeavor. In 1896 two resolutions were adopted by the Academy — one petitioning the Twenty-sixth General Assembly to take some action toward the preservation of our lakes to maintain some of the original conditions of the State. The other was presented to the Congress of the United States, calling to its attention the necessity of further legislation looking to the preservation and rational use of the remaining forests of our country.

The same year Dr. Macbride presented to the Academy two papers dealing with the conservation of Iowa's woodland. The first of these was a plea for the establishment of county parks which he considered essential for the promotion of public health and happiness, for proper education, and for the preservation of the beauty and grandeur of primeval nature. He also presented a paper on "Forest Distribution in Iowa", in which he showed that loess was the natural home of forests. He strongly advocated that our remaining forests should be left undisturbed.

In 1897, Dr. Macbride carried the argument for the pres-

[40] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 94, Pt. 4, p. 66, Vol. VII, p. 199, Vol. VIII, pp. 91, 139, 144, 262.

ervation of Iowa's woodlands further, dwelling mainly upon the practical value of forests in the conservation of our surface moisture. He lamented the fact that so much woodland was being cleared and so many of the forests hewed down, seeing as he did the resultant drying up of Iowa's rivers and springs, as well as the aesthetic value of the original conditions.

Dr. Macbride saw in the Academy means of remedying the existing situation. His purpose was to arouse public interest in education, since he felt that the people would act immediately if the situation were clearly understood. He urged the members of the Academy to investigate the natural conditions of the State, and to stimulate in the local communities a deeper interest in the primeval. These addresses are the germs of the widespread conservation movement of today. Few men have equalled Dr. Macbride in the unselfish service rendered to Iowa in his advocacy of the preservation and conservation of its resources.[41]

During the decade of the nineties several papers were presented to the Academy dealing with practical problems of interest to the farmers and the horticulturalists of the State. Perhaps the most active member of the Academy in presenting such problems was L. H. Pammel. In 1889 Mr. Pammel presented a paper on "Some Fungous Diseases of Fruit Trees in Iowa", and another dealing with "A Cherry Disease". In 1891 he presented a paper on "Corn Smut", the following year one on "The Relation of Frost to Certain Plants", and in 1894 one on "Diseases of Plants at Ames". In 1899 he presented the subject of "Powdery Mildew of the Apple", and the next year he discussed "The Thistles of Iowa, with Notes on a Few Other Species". This latter subject appears in an extensive and well illus-

[41] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. III, pp. 15, 16, 91, 96, Vol. V, pp. 12-23, Vol. VII, p. 47, Vol. VIII, pp. 13, 14, 196-198.

trated article in Volume VIII of the *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science.*[42]

Since the majority of the membership of the Academy was composed of men connected with Iowa colleges and universities one would expect to find numerous references to work being done in the various institutions. Such references, however, are few. The first mention of college work appears to have been made in 1891 by Professor C. C. Nutting. In a paper on "Systematic Zoology in Colleges" he suggested that smaller colleges, where first class apparatus was not available, should adopt a policy whereby some branch of zoölogy could be offered which would bring the student close to nature. In 1893 two papers dealing with work at the Iowa State College of Agriculture were presented: one related the methods of experimental engineering, and the other dealt with some results obtained in the botanical laboratory. From time to time, also, a number of papers appeared describing biological laboratories in other States. The establishment of such a laboratory in Iowa to give students an opportunity to study common forms of life in the midst of their activities was urged at various times. In 1896, L. S. Ross of Drake University proposed that such a laboratory be set up under control of the Iowa Academy of Science.[43]

Aside from the many papers of a very practical nature which were presented before the Academy during the early years of its history, many problems of a more technical or academic nature appear. Among these may be mentioned "Notes on the Gross Anatomy of Campeloma", by R. E. Call; and "Mechanism for Securing Cross Fertiliza-

[42] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 91, 92, Pt. 2, p. 95, Pt. 3, p. 77, Vol. II, p. 201, Vol. VII, p. 177, Vol. VIII, p. 214.

[43] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 102, Pt. 4, pp. 16, 93, 112, Vol. IV, p. 167, Vol. VIII, p. 110.

tion in Salvia Lanceolata", by G. W. Newton. Bohumil Shimek read a paper on "A Theory of the Loess" and another entitled "Is the Loess of Aqueous Origin"? These two papers set out evidence that the loess of the Mississippi Valley is of eolian (wind) origin, and not aqueous as was generally assumed. The second of these papers became the center of a symposium on the loess, in which representatives of the United States Geological Survey and the State Geological Surveys of Minnesota, South Dakota, and Iowa took part. The eolian origin of loess is now generally accepted by scientists.

Papers of this type were of interest primarily to those specializing in particular fields, but the Academy, interested in all phases of scientific research and development, afforded an ideal forum in which to present them. This fact was emphasized by Dr. Macbride when as president of the Academy he said: "Science is nothing if not beneficent. Her object is, and ever has been, the discovery and promulgation of natural truth, and the knowledge of truth is always practical. Not less valuable, therefore, even from a practical standpoint, are those researches which may seem to-day to have no direct bearing on man's physical well being. Theory in science, as elsewhere, often precedes practice, and pure science lays evermore the foundations for invention. . . . And so although I may seem to-night to commend especially those scientific labors which bear immediate fruit, I would not for a moment discourage other investigations which tend to no direct outcome of the visible, practical sort, but which find their justification on the yet higher plane where they offer satisfaction to the inquiries of genius and solace to the lovely spirit of enlightened man."[44]

[44] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 16, Vol. III, p. 82, Vol. IV, p. 109, Vol. V, pp. 15, 32.

In the early nineties it became the custom to publish each year the address of the retiring president. The presidential address published in 1894 was on "Recent Advances in the Theory of Solutions", by L. W. Andrews. The following year – 1895 – "Needed Changes in Scientific Methods" was the subject of the presidential address delivered by H. W. Norris. Considered in the light of subsequent scientific development this address is filled with interest. The speaker said: "We live in a period that sees wonderful attainments in science and art, so that in theory and practice many think the *summum bonum* has been reached. It is preëminently the age of science and the application of scientific methods to all phases of human activity." He continued by saying that while there were many skilled surgeons, there were also many quacks; while the scientific spirit predominated there was also much of the unscientific. Accordingly, he pleaded for a hastening of the day "when empiricism and its twin brother dogmatism will yield the field to the scientific spirit".[45]

In the presidential address in 1898, Dr. Macbride took as his subject "The Academy and the People". In 1899 — at the close of the century — W. S. Hendrixson discussed "Some Features of the Science of a Hundred Years Ago". After reviewing the advancement that had been made in chemistry, physics, biology, and geology during the past century, he said that the glory of science lies no more in its past achievement than in its promise for the future. "However difficult the conception, and however impossible it may be to predict the developments of the future, the legitimate inference from the past is", he said, "that the developments of the next century will be quite as great as those of the present one. We know that much remains

[45] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. II, p. 13, Vol. III, pp. 17-28.

to be done, and we have a right to expect that scientific thought will continue to broaden and deepen, leading ever toward a fuller knowledge of the physical universe and a truer Philosophy.''[46] Thus in the annals of the Academy the century closed with an historical review of what had been accomplished in the field of science and in the Academy, and a prophecy of the still greater things to be accomplished in the future.

THE ACADEMY FROM 1901 TO 1910

During the period from 1901 to 1910 the Academy continued to grow, although the growth was not so rapid as it has been in later years. In 1901 there were one hundred and sixty-three members — the largest membership in the history of the Academy up to that time. In 1910 there were one hundred and ninety-four members. Among the leading scientists of the State who became members of the Academy during this decade were George F. Kay, D. W. Morehouse, E. W. Rockwood, C. E. Seashore, A. O. Thomas, and R. B. Wylie.[47]

The presidents of the Academy during the first decade of the twentieth century included A. A. Veblen, H. E. Summers, Bruce Fink, Bohumil Shimek, M. F. Arey, C. O. Bates, John L. Tilton, Samuel Calvin, Frank F. Almy, and Gilbert L. Houser. In 1900 the office of secretary-treasurer was divided and both a secretary and treasurer were elected. During the decade which followed, the office of secretary was held by S. W. Beyer, A. G. Leonard, T. E. Savage, and L. S. Ross. None of these men served less than two years, and Mr. Ross served from 1906 until 1914. During

[46] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. VI, p. 16, Vol. VII, pp. 22, 39.

[47] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. VIII, pp. 7-10, Vol. XVII, pp. v-ix.

this period the office of treasurer was held by J. B. Weems, Bohumil Shimek, H. W. Norris, H. E. Summers, and George F. Kay. The last named, elected in 1908, was reëlected annually until 1914.[48]

During the years from 1900 to 1910 two hundred and fifty-three papers were reported in the *Proceedings* of the Academy. This does not include all of the papers presented, however, for during the early years the volumes of *Proceedings* were limited to 250 pages. In 1902 this limit was raised to 300 pages. Even this, however, was found to be inadequate, necessitating the abstracting of some of the papers and the entire omission of others from the reports. After considerable agitation on the part of members of the Academy the Thirty-sixth General Assembly in 1915 removed this restriction. Since that date the volumes have been larger and better suited to the needs of the organization.[49]

The papers reported during this period were contributed by some ninety-six men. About half of these were active in the work of the Academy only during these years. Some had been active in the organization during the earlier years and continued their interest. Others came in during these years and remained active in the years which followed. Some sixteen of the men present a record of long and active membership extending on both sides of the decade here under consideration. This group includes F. F. Almy, M. F. Arey, C. O. Bates, A. A. Bennett, C. F. Curtiss, David E. Hadden, W. S. Hendrixson, H. M. Kelly, Charles Rollin Keyes, T. H. Macbride, A. Marston, H. W. Norris, C. C. Nutting, L. H. Pammel, Bohumil Shimek, E. W. Stanton,

[48] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vols. VIII-XXI, see list of officers in the front of each volume.

[49] *Laws of Iowa,* 1892, Ch. 62, 1894, Ch. 86, 1902, Ch. 7, 1915, Ch. 299.

and J. L. Tilton. Several of these men have retained membership in the Academy to the present time, and throughout the years have contributed liberally to the advanced scientific thought of the times.[50]

The field of research represented by the Iowa Academy of Science during the first decade of the century was widely extended. One of the fields of study which developed interest was the application of scientific knowledge to problems of health and sanitation. Before 1900 no thorough and comprehensive survey of the water supply of the State had been made. At about this time members of the Academy became interested in this problem, and from that time until the present, sanitation and the problem of obtaining a pure water supply have continued to be of major interest at meetings of the Academy.

The movement of population from the rural districts to the urban centers tended to make the health and sanitation problems more acute. However, in two papers dealing with municipal hygiene, C. O. Bates in 1905 and 1906 presented the view that under proper conditions the death rate is not necessarily higher in urban than in rural areas. In municipal hygiene, he pointed out, three points demand special attention — pure air, pure food, and pure water — the most important of these being pure water. Mr. Bates explained that the city water supply could be properly guarded, inspected, and treated; but rural and outlying wells, not regularly inspected, were a constant menace. Not only were these wells a source of disease in themselves, but at any time they might contaminate the milk supply of a large number of individuals. In this connection Mr. Bates urged the members of the Academy to "call for a bacteriological, biological and chemical survey of the vari-

[50] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. VII, pp. 7, 8, Vol. XIX, pp. vi-viii.

ous water basins, so that we may know what to expect and how to combat the deleterious agencies in the water".[51]

Other members of the Academy discussed the problem of water supply at various times. Alfred N. Cook in 1901, 1902, and 1903 reported upon the Sioux City water supply. In 1904 John L. Tilton discussed the water supply at Indianola, advocating the use of river water purified by the quick filtration system. In 1907 L. H. Pammel discussed "Some Municipal Water Problems", dealing largely with the frequency of typhoid fever resulting from the water supply. In this connection it was shown that in cities which had adopted a filtration system the death rate from typhoid had been greatly reduced. Tables showing the death rate before and after filtration were presented.[52]

During the early years of the period under consideration members of the Academy were interested in the passage of pure food legislation. In 1900 a committee, of which J. B. Weems was chairman, was appointed by the Academy to foster pure food legislation. The following year a resolution was passed providing that "the attention of the legislature be called to the necessity and value of pure food laws in the state." The resolution further declared: "The state should not remain an open field for imposing adulterated food products upon our citizens to the detriment of both health and pocketbooks." Iowa, it was said, was not abreast with other States in this matter and laws should be passed to protect its citizens. At the legislative session in 1902 a pure food bill, similar to that adopted in other States, was presented, and the Academy through its legislative committee urged its passage. The measure failed

[51] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XII, p. 75, Vol. XIII, p. 17.

[52] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. IX, p. 90, Vol. X, p. 122, Vol. XI, p. 133, Vol. XII, p. 143, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

to pass, however, and such a law was not adopted in Iowa until 1906.[53]

In 1903 Dr. Gershom H. Hill discussed "The Importance of Vital Statistics in the Study of Social Science". In this paper he showed the value of statistical data and pointed out that Iowa was not keeping pace with other States in providing statistical records. He urged upon members of the Academy the need of adequate laws on vital statistics, and expressed the hope that the Thirty-first General Assembly would enact such legislation. Such laws were not enacted, however, until the meeting of the Thirty-ninth General Assembly in 1921.[54]

The effort to educate landowners to the necessity of preserving the natural conditions of the State — the work begun by Dr. Macbride and fostered by him for many years — was continued during this period. In 1901 a resolution was passed by the Academy commending President Theodore Roosevelt for his policy of conservation, and advocating the passage of laws for the preservation of forests and other natural resources. Again in 1910 the Academy passed a resolution reaffirming "its endorsement of the general movement toward the conservation of our forests, rivers, lakes and mineral resources by the national government".[55]

Dr. Shimek was especially concerned during this period with the protection of the remaining forests of Iowa. In 1901 he presented a comprehensive paper, "Forestry in Iowa", in which he showed that little attempt was made by the pioneers to protect the woodlands. Only in recent

[53] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. IX, pp. 18, 19, Vol. X, p. 19; House File No. 146, in the *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1902; *Laws of Iowa,* 1906, Ch. 166.

[54] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XI, p. 55; *Laws of Iowa,* 1921, Ch. 222.

[55] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. IX, p. 17, Vol. XVII, p. 5.

years has it been recognized that preservation of the forests is essential to the conservation of moisture and protection of the soil. Dr. Shimek expressed the view that trees could be successfully grown practically anywhere in Iowa. He urged the passage of a measure, which was then before the General Assembly, designed to encourage the planting of forest and fruit trees by reducing the taxes on land thus used. This measure was not adopted, but a similar law was adopted in 1906.[56]

In 1908 Hugh P. Baker discussed "Some Forestry Problems of the Prairies of the Middle West". He included in this study the States of Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, and expressed the view that in these States there were large tracts of land which could be used to a better advantage economically in the production of timber than under cultivation.[57]

In "Some Geological Aspects of Artificial Drainage in Iowa", G. G. Wheat presented an interesting view of some of the work done by the early settlers. Prior to 1900 floods due to rainfall were infrequent. In early days numerous upland lakes, marshes, ponds, and swamps caught and retained much of the rainfall. Only the overflow and that which fell directly upon the watershed contributed to the increased flow of the rivers. Deposition of soil eroded from the watershed was small, and the streams were, for the most part, clear. By 1900, however, many of these natural reservoirs had been drained by open ditches. This increased the erosion, clogged the larger streams, and increased the probability of floods. Mr. Wheat regarded the adoption of tile ditches as essential, since they greatly increase the power of absorption of the soil, prevent erosion,

[56] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. IX, p. 53; *Laws of Iowa,* 1906, Ch. 52; *Code of 1927,* Sec. 7110.

[57] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XV, p. 91.

and feed the streams more gradually, thus reducing the danger of floods.[58]

In accordance with the broadening scope of scientific research during this decade a wider interest was manifested on the part of members of the Academy in the work of colleges and universities which they represented. Several papers dealing with laboratory apparatus and methods were presented to the Academy. In 1901 A. A. Veblen discussed "Some Improved Laboratory Devices and Apparatus". In 1904 John L. Tilton spoke of "The Switchboard and Arrangement of Storage Battery at Simpson College". Two years later D. W. Morehouse explained the "Photographic Accessories of the Drake Observatory", and in 1908, H. J. H. Hoeve discussed certain methods of brain dissection as carried on in medical laboratories.[59] Other titles were presented dealing with various laboratories rather than with methods employed. Maurice Ricker, in 1901, discussed "The University of Montana Biological Station". In 1906 Frank F. Almy discussed "The Physical Laboratory at Iowa College".

The following year A. C. Page spoke on "The Physical Science Laboratory of the State Normal", and two years later Thomas H. Macbride presented a paper on "The Okoboji Lakeside Laboratory". In this paper Dr. Macbride presented the advantages at Okoboji. The varied topography, the forest and prairie flora, and "all kinds of habitat conditions" make this an almost ideal place for scientific research. In presenting these advantages Dr. Macbride said: "Ever since the immortal Agassiz stood bareheaded with that famous company on the rocks of Pennikese, the naturalists of the world, at least, have realized that the

[58] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XVII, p. 151.

[59] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. IX, p. 34, Vol. XII, p. 139, Vol. XIII, p. 15, Vol. XV, p. 183.

proper and reverent place for the study of natural objects is in their natural surroundings. Dry dead fungi are dusty labelled things, as meaningless as the stuffed skin of mammal or bird, or a fossil in a box; better than no exhibit at all, to be sure, but poor indeed as compared with the natural world where the fungus starts in the forest shade, the wings of bird or insect fan the sunny air, or the fossil speaks its significance from the stony pages of the riven quarry stone. The lakeside laboratory shall afford to all interested, for once at least, a chance to see the real world, nature alive, accomplishing her miracles in their own silent splendor, often needing not, for the student's appreciation, the voice of interpreter or teacher.''[60]

A considerable number of the papers presented before the Academy during this period, as in earlier years, were of a technical or academic type. Among the papers of this character may be mentioned ''Mutual Induction and the Internal Resistance of a Voltaic Cell'' and ''J. J. Thompson's Theory of Matter'', both of which were presented by L. Begeman; ''A Method for the Determination of Hydriodic and Hydrobromic Acids'', by W. S. Hendrixson; ''The Relative Frequency of Arterio-Sclerosis of the Various Arteries'', by W. E. Sanders; and ''Some Observations on the Embryology of Chironomus'', by W. N. Craven. Many other papers of this specialized type were presented before the Academy, but any attempt at analysing them is beyond the purport of this review.[61]

The addresses delivered by the various presidents of the Academy during this decade were of outstanding significance. In 1901 President A. A. Veblen took for the sub-

[60] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. IX, p. 122, Vol. XIII. p. 227, Vol. XIV, p. 271, Vol. XVI, pp. 131, 132.

[61] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XII, pp. 9, 49, Vol. XIII, p. 219, Vol. XVI, pp. 193, 221.

ject of his presidential address "The Relation of Physics to the Other Material Sciences". He presented the view that "physics stands in the relation of an elder sister" to the other branches of science. This department, he said, "has enjoyed the privilege of first establishing and defending the methods and criteria which must surely prevail until science shall undergo some radical and now unsuspected change in its essentials. Until such a time arrives physics will continue to be at once the most severely exact of the sciences and the one among them whose privilege it is to lend and to give in the most unstinted measure both methods and means for their growth and perfection."[62]

At the annual meeting in 1902 H. E. Summers in his presidential address discussed "Some Problems of Heredity and Evolution". The following year President Bruce Fink gave an address in the field of historical botany on the subject, "Two Centuries of North American Lichenology". In this connection he presented not only a development of the lichens but gave an extensive bibliography of authors and titles dealing with this subject.

Under the title, "Botany in its Relation to Good Citizenship", Bohumil Shimek, in 1904, presented an interesting presidential address. "No scientific branch", he said, "is more intimately connected with our everyday lives than botany. To plants we owe, directly or indirectly, practically all our food, and much of the shelter and protection which we enjoy. Agriculture, horticulture, and countless industries owe their existence to plants, and are based on scientific botanical principles. To plants we are also indebted for the comfort and beauty of our surroundings, and in every relation and activity of life, from the cradle to the grave, we have more or less to do with them. These

[62] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. IX, pp. 21-32.

relations involve not only personal profit and private interests, but common weal and public welfare as well. It follows that a knowledge of plants — a knowledge of botany — will the better enable us to derive the greatest benefit from this close relation. It will enable us to perpetuate and utilize that which is useful, and to protect ourselves against that which is harmful. It will convince us that we must concern ourselves not only with immediate profit, but with future consequences.''[63]

At the three succeeding annual meetings of the Academy the presidential addresses were: ''A Review of the Development of Mineralogy'', by Melvin F. Arey; ''Influence of Modern Science in the Formation of Ideals'', by C. O. Bates; and ''Science Required for a General Education'', by John L. Tilton. In presenting his address, Mr. Tilton argued that science was being unnecessarily neglected. He advocated that high schools should require courses in botany, physics, and chemistry. Many students, he said, neglected science either because they feared it or because they did not understand it, both of which reasons might be dispelled if such courses were required.[64]

In 1909 Samuel Calvin, as president of the Academy, presented ''The Work of the Iowa Geological Survey''. He referred to the services of James Hall and Charles A. White in the early geological studies, and traced the history and activities of the present Geological Survey from the date of its organization in 1892 to 1909. In concluding his address he said: ''As an aid to public education, helping the people to see and appreciate and correctly interpret the geological phenomena which lie all about them, help-

[63] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. X, p. 26, Vol. XI, p. 11, Vol. XII, pp. 1-6.

[64] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XIII, p. 7, Vol. XIV, p. 7, Vol. XV, p. 13.

ing them to view the world in which they live understandingly, instead of looking at it with the vague, dull, comprehensionless mental attitude of the unlearned savage, the Iowa Geological Survey has earned its place as an important factor in contributing to the general intelligence of this most beautiful, most prosperous, most intelligent state.''[65]

In this statement Professor Calvin summarized not only the work of the Geological Survey, but in a measure the work of the Academy of Science as well, since the Survey was organized in accordance with plans formulated by members of the Academy.

THE ACADEMY FROM 1911 TO 1920

With the opening of a new decade, interest and membership in the Academy continued to grow. By 1911 life membership had been provided for, and twelve members were enrolled as ''life fellows''. There were at this time sixty-nine fellows, one hundred and eleven associate members, and forty corresponding members — a total enrollment of two hundred and thirty-two members. By 1920 honorary fellowships had been established and the designation of corresponding fellows had been discontinued. Six men — J. C. Arthur, Thomas H. Macbride, Herbert Osborn, J. E. Todd, William Trelease, and J. A. Udden — had obtained the rank of honorary fellows. There were at this time twenty-two life fellows, one hundred and fifty-eight fellows, and one hundred and thirty-four associates, making a total membership of three hundred and twenty. In 1919 a membership of three hundred and fifty was reported. This was the largest membership of any State Academy in the United States. Among the many men prominent in various fields of science who became members of the Academy during this decade were Bird T. Baldwin, Ellsworth Faris, Charles

[65] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XVI, pp. 11-18.

Reuben Keyes, H. L. Reitz, Dayton Stoner, and A. C. Trowbridge.[66]

It may be observed that by the year 1920 the personnel of the Academy had been greatly changed, not only by the addition of new members but by the loss of a considerable number of the group. Early in the history of the Academy notices of the passing of members appeared in the *Proceedings*. Throughout the decade now under consideration almost every volume of the *Proceedings* contained a necrology. In some instances the record of the death of several members appeared in a single volume. Among those passing from membership during these years may be mentioned F. M. Witter, S. E. Meek, Charles E. Bessey, G. E. Patrick, Harriette Kellogg, Arthur G. Smith, Glenn I. Tenney, Robert B. Dodson, Byron D. Halsted, and R. Ellsworth Call.

The men who served as presidents of the Academy during this period included Louis Begeman, A. A. Bennett, C. N. Kinney, Henry S. Conard, Harry M. Kelly, George W. Stewart, L. S. Ross, S. W. Beyer, T. C. Stephens, and Nicholas Knight. As was previously noted, the offices of secretary and treasurer for a number of years prior to 1914 were filled by L. S. Ross and George F. Kay respectively. At the annual meeting in 1914 James H. Lees was elected secretary to succeed Mr. Ross, and A. O. Thomas was selected as treasurer. During the remainder of the decade these two men were reëlected annually to their respective offices, and throughout the years they assumed much of the responsibility in making the meetings of the Academy a success. Mr. Lees continued to serve as secretary until 1924, while Dr. Thomas retained the office of treasurer until his death in 1931 — thus establishing a

[66] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XVIII, p. vi, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4-14.

record of long and efficient service as an officer in the Academy.[67]

The papers which were presented to the Academy during this period of its history were numerous and of wide variety. Because of a lack of space in the *Proceedings,* and also because very frequently abstracts were not available for publication, many of the papers presented were not published. Many others, however, were published either in full or in the form of abstracts. Accordingly, much that is of value and interest in making up an historical record of the development and activities of the Academy has been preserved. A study of the titles published indicates that, as in former decades, the subjects may be classified roughly into groups which signify dominant interests or trends of scientific development.

The question of providing a pure water supply continued to be a problem of vital concern to members of the Academy. In 1913 Dr. Henry Albert discussed "The Pollution of Underground Waters With Sewage Through Fissures in Rocks". Jack J. Hinman, Jr., in 1917 presented an interesting study on "Waterworks Laboratories". The following year, the problem of obtaining pure water for soldiers being an important one, Mr. Hinman discussed "Some Problems of Water Supply for Troops", and in 1920 he presented a paper on "Some Experiences with Laboratory Control of Field Water Supplies". The same year James H. Lees presented a study of "The Conservation of Underground Waters".[68]

One of the outstanding problems before the Academy

[67] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XVII, p. 7, Vol. XXI, pp. iii, 11, Vol. XXII, p. 11, Vol. XXIII, pp. 17-19, Vol. XXIV, p. 19, Vol. XXV, pp. 25-29, Vol. XXVI, p. 31, Vol. XXVII, p. 35, Vol. XXXI, p. 3.

[68] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XX, p. 7, Vol. XXIV, p. 501, Vol. XXV, p. 457, Vol. XXVII, pp. 187, 253.

during this decade was that of conservation. In 1917 James H. Lees discussed "Some Geological Aspects of Conservation". "Iowa", he said, "is usually considered as primarily a prairie state, one whose chief aesthetic attraction lies in the satisfaction that accompanies the outlook over wide spreading grain field or level plain stretching away beyond the farthest ken". In general, he said, this is true, but "the most attractive region of the state is 'The Switzerland of Iowa,' so named . . . . because its picturesque hills and deep cut valleys with their winding streams make of it a land comparable with the 'Playground of Europe'." Mr. Lees referred to a number of the beautiful geological structures of the State — Columnar Cliffs, Devil's Den, Castle Rock, Pilot Knob, Jasper Pool, and other places of interest. He urged conservation of the many beauty spots of the State. Their perpetuation, he said, "will increase the feeling of pride with which every Iowan regards his state and so will add in every way to the state's resources and attractiveness."[69]

In 1918, R. L. Webster presented a paper on "Food Conservation and Economic Entomology", and the following year Samuel W. Beyer devoted his presidential address to the subject "Some Problems in Conservation". Nor was the work of conservation confined to the preparation and presentation of papers before the Academy. In 1920, a committee, consisting of W. H. Davis, Bohumil Shimek, H. E. Jaques, G. B. MacDonald, and G. A. Chaney, made a report recommending that steps be taken in the interest of conservation. Among other things this committee recommended that immediate action be taken for the preservation of streams and lakes "because when once lost they can never be reclaimed". It endorsed the policy of plant

[69] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 133-154.

and game preserves in the rough lands and along the streams, and the further purchase of land for State and county parks. It advocated certain changes in the law relative to open and closed seasons for hunting and fishing, and the passage of a law relative to the preservation of Indian mounds and burial grounds. It also expressed approval of the plant disease survey which was being carried on by the United States Department of Agriculture.[70]

Problems of value to the agricultural interests of the State were frequently discussed before the Academy. In 1912 J. N. Martin discussed "Some Points on the Floral Development of Red Clover". In 1914 Mr. Pammel presented a paper on "Weed Survey of Story County". In 1916 E. L. Palmer presented "A Seed Key to Some Common Weeds and Plants". In the same year John A. Krall presented a study of "The Formalin Treatment for Controlling Oat Smut", and the following year Dayton Stoner presented "Notes on Some Iowa Rodents". In this paper he observed that much damage is caused by rodents and that the bounty system as a means of combating them met with small success. "If every farmer would see to it that the pests are destroyed on his own premises without consideration for the bounty", Mr. Stoner said, "the difficulty would be solved and the funds now expended in bounties could be invested in some manner that would be likely to yield greater returns". In 1919, "Grass-Hopper Control Work in Iowa" and "The Barberry in Iowa and Adjacent States" were the subjects of papers presented by H. E. Jaques and L. H. Pammel respectively.[71]

[70] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXV, p. 117, Vol. XXVI, pp. 37-46, Vol. XXVII, p. 21.

[71] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XIX, p. 129, Vol. XXI, p. 115, Vol. XXIII, pp. 335, 593, Vol. XXIV, pp. 353-356, Vol. XXVI, pp. 133, 193.

During this decade, frequent reference was made to the work accomplished in the various fields of science. The year 1912 being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Science, it was an appropriate time for a review of the accomplishments of science in the various fields. Much of the space in the *Proceedings* for that year was devoted to reviewing the work of the previous years. "Twenty-five Years of Botany in Iowa" was the subject of a paper presented by T. H. Macbride. During the years preceding, the trend of science in every field and laboratory had been toward the immediate and directly practical. How better to obtain oil, or gas, or steel; how better to develop and manage the electric current; how more profitably to extract gold or silver from the ores; how better to raise corn or cattle; how to control disease? Dr. Macbride presented the view that those practical triumphs were, however, only the smaller fraction of scientific accomplishment. Pure science includes infinitely more. In conclusion he expressed the belief that botany would in the near future "show itself, as it really is, the most fascinating, productive, beautiful", and withal the most instructive science.[72]

Melvin F. Arey presented a "History of Geology in Iowa for the Last Twenty-five Years", in which he discussed the work of leading geologists and the Geological Survey. "The Progress in Physics in Iowa in the Quarter Century" was presented by Frank F. Almy, who reviewed the progress made in this science in Iowa colleges and gave a list of the papers dealing with physics which had been presented before the Academy of Science. "The Progress of Zoology in Iowa during the Last Twenty-five Years" was the subject of a report made by C. C. Nutting. In this, Mr. Nutting

[72] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XIX, pp. 43-50.

reviewed the work of several leading zoölogists, as well as the development of the science itself, and pointed to the fact that at least seven of the presidents of the Academy had been zoölogists and others had been interested in that field although more closely affiliated with other sciences.[73]

During the latter part of the decade papers presented to the Academy were classified according to the various branches of science with which they were concerned. Botany, chemistry, geology, physics, and zoölogy were all well represented. In 1919 a study of State Academies of Science throughout the United States was made, and it was found that the Iowa Academy ranked first in membership with a total of three hundred and fifty. Of these members, sixty were botanists, thirty chemists, forty geologists, eighteen mathematicians, twelve physicians, thirty physicists, sixty zoölogists, and one hundred were unclassified.

The field of experimental psychology became one of increasing interest during this decade. In 1920 Dr. C. E. Seashore and a number of his assistants presented to the Academy a "Symposium: Some Results of Current Research in the Psychological Laboratory of the State University of Iowa".[74]

The presidential addresses presented during the decade under consideration were filled with interest. The first of these appeared in the *Proceedings* of 1912, when Louis Begeman presented "The Mission and Spirit of the Pure Scientist". "The spirit of pure science", he said, "has many times been expressed in the unselfish sacrifice of some great man's life in the cause of truth in order that humanity might be brought to higher standards of living. It is the spirit which glories in victory over ignorance, prejudice,

[73] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XIX, pp. 65, 73, 79-83.

[74] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXVII, pp. 9-16, 227; *State Academies of Science* in *Science* (New Series), Vol. L, pp. 517, 518.

and unreasoning tradition''. As an example of a pure scientist of the highest type he referred to the life and work of Michael Faraday.[75]

In 1917 G. W. Stewart in his presidential address discussed the advances made in physics, and the functions and responsibilities of the Academy. He pointed out that Iowa is favorably situated for the development of science, and that the Academy should have a distinct part in such development. ''Our Academy exists'', he said, ''not merely for Iowa but for the world, serving as a means of assisting Iowa to make generous contributions to the welfare of this nation and of the entire world''.[76]

In the presidential address in 1918 L. S. Ross made a plea for a study of the history of science. He expressed the view that a study of history is too often confined to a study of military or political affairs, and that it should be made to include the progress of scientific thought.[77]

As was previously noted Samuel W. Beyer in 1919 devoted his presidential address to a consideration of ''Some Problems in Conservation''. He made a plea for the conservation of water for agricultural purposes. In this connection he expressed the belief that ''a hydrometric survey would demonstrate the wisdom of preserving large tracts of land in their natural state''. Such reserves, he said, ''would aid the Mississippi Valley to maintain its position as the *Granary of the World.*'' In 1920 T. C. Stephens in his presidential address discussed ''The Taxonomic Unit'' — a subject of interest primarily to those working in the field of biology.[78]

[75] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XIX, pp. 11-15.

[76] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 29-32.

[77] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXV, pp. 33-38.

[78] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXVI, pp. 37-46, Vol. XXVII, p. 41.

Aside from the papers presented before the Academy, and the opportunities afforded for the publication of such studies, the Academy in its annual meetings has always provided opportunities for social intercourse among scientists from various parts of the State. With the increase in membership in the Academy during the years prior to 1920 this social feature and its attending influences came to be more and more a significant factor in the development of the Academy. The social contacts thus formed tend to promote good fellowship among institutions as well as among individuals, and encourage research in the smaller colleges as well as in the larger institutions of the State.

THE ACADEMY FROM 1921 TO 1931

Notwithstanding the growth which the Academy had made prior to 1920, and the position of prominence which it had attained as compared with other State Academies, the expansion in more recent years has been even more striking. In 1921 there were three hundred and sixty-three members. Seven years later, in 1928, this number had increased to more than six hundred — a very substantial gain over all previous records. Of this number five were honorary fellows, twenty-five were life members, two hundred and ninety-two were fellows, and two hundred and eighty-one were associate fellows.

This increase in membership brought into the Academy a considerable number of men outstanding in various fields of science. During these years, too, death removed several prominent members of the Academy. Among these were E. W. Stanton, Gustavus Hinrichs, James E. Todd, A. G. Field, W. S. Hendrixson, L. T. Weeks, C. C. Nutting, J. H. Paarmann, Bruce Fink, Bird T. Baldwin, A. O. Thomas, and L. H. Pammel.

The presidents of the Academy during this period in-

cluded D. W. Morehouse, R. B. Wylie, L. H. Pammel, O. H. Smith, R. I. Cratty, C. E. Seashore, L. D. Weld, George F. Kay, L. B. Spinney, H. L. Reitz, and James H. Lees. The election of Mr. Pammel in 1923 was unique, as he had served as president of the Academy on a former occasion more than twenty years before. Mr. Pammel and Mr. Nutting are the only men who have been twice elected to the office of president of this Academy.

Mention has been made of the fact that James H. Lees served as secretary of the Academy from 1914 until 1924. He was succeeded at that time by P. S. Helmick who served until 1929, when he in turn was succeeded by J. C. Gilman. In 1925 members of the Academy elected an editor — an officer long needed and one able to render valuable service to the organization. Willis DeRyke was elected editor in 1925 and served until August, 1926, when he resigned and the executive committee appointed G. H. Coleman as his successor. In 1927 Mr. Coleman was elected editor, and the following year was reëlected. During the year 1928 he went to Europe and in his absence James H. Lees was appointed editor. Upon his return Dr. Coleman was reëlected in 1929 and continues to serve as editor.[79]

During this decade interest in the various branches of science and the influence of specialization in a particular field is more clearly apparent than in former years. During the years from 1921 to 1928 inclusive there were, aside from the presidential addresses, 1174 papers presented to the Academy. Of this number 736 were published in the *Proceedings* either in full or in abstract form, while 438 were not published by the Academy. A considerable number of these papers were printed in other publications, such as

[79] Data compiled from *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vols. XXVIII-XXXV. See also *The Des Moines Register,* May 4, 1930.

the *Journal of Bacteriology* and *The American Mathematical Monthly.*

The papers classified according to subjects are as follows:

	Unpublished	Published	Total
Archeology[80]		2	2
Bacteriology	32	50	82
Botany	69	133	202
Chemistry	88	116	204
Geology	65	97	162
Mathematics	93	5	98
Physics	28	154	182
Psychology	22	61	83
Zoology	32	109	141
Unclassified	9	9	18
Totals	438	736	1174

Chemistry leads the list in the number of presentations with 204 papers. Botany is second with 202 papers, while the largest number of papers published was in the field of physics, where 154 out of a total of 182 papers were published in the *Proceedings.* Very few papers were presented in the field of archeology, and few of the papers in mathematics were published by the Academy. This latter situation is due in a large measure to the fact that many of the papers presented in this field were published elsewhere.[81]

The practical application of the papers presented, which has been apparent throughout the history of the Academy, still continues. Papers of interest in the field of agriculture and horticulture frequently appear. Subjects dealing with conservation, with health, and with the promotion of public welfare are among those presented. In 1921 H. E.

[80] Two titles — *Indian Quartzite Quarry Near Hot Springs, South Dakota,* by Paul S. Rowe, and *An Apparently Very Old Prehistoric Camp Site,* by Ellison Orr — which are classified in the *Proceedings* under "Geology" might well have been classified as "Archeology".

[81] Data compiled from *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vols. XXVIII-XXXV.

Jaques discussed "The 1921 Outbreak of the Clover-leaf Weevil in Iowa". In 1926 the same author read a paper on "A Preliminary Survey of May Beetles in Iowa". A paper dealing with the sod webworms in Iowa was presented by R. L. Webster in 1923.[82]

In 1924, Julian E. McFarland presented a paper on "Chemical Engineering and Agriculture". He pointed out in this connection that chemical engineering is coming to play an important part in the development of agriculture. This is particularly true in the preparation of fertilizers to enrich the soil and in the better utilization of waste agricultural products, such as corncobs and oathulls. In 1922, L. W. Durrell read a paper on "The Nodal Infection of Corn by Diplodia Zeae". At each of the two following annual meetings Winfield Scott presented a discussion of the selection, methods of testing and the preservation of seed corn.[83]

In 1924 Bohumil Shimek discussed the subject, "Drainage in Iowa". He said that the whole problem of overdrainage should receive more attention, and be carefully studied by those who are competent to determine not only whether a given area *could* be drained but also whether it *should* be drained. "It is evident", he said, "that we should adopt a system of selective drainage in place of the present reckless system which operates on the groundless assumption that *all* drainage is beneficial." In conclusion he said, "the Academy, and especially the Botanical Section, should consider this problem, as it involves scientific investigation of our natural conditions, and is particularly concerned with the interests of plants. We should take a stand for

[82] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 127, Vol. XXX, p. 147, Vol. XXXIII, p. 337.

[83] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXIX, p. 346, Vol. XXX, p. 254, Vol. XXXI, pp. 217, 284.

the sane investigation and solution of the problems involved before it is too late.''[84]

The purification of the water supply of the State was a subject frequently presented to the Academy. In 1924 George Bennett presented a paper on ''Keeping Iowa's Water Pure''. This was a plea for keeping the lakes and streams free from industrial waste and city sewage in the interest of wild life conservation. At the same meeting at which this paper was presented, the Committee on Biological Survey reported, recommending that the Iowa Geological Survey be invited to undertake a natural history survey of the State. This, it was suggested, should include an investigation of such problems connected with the native plant life and animal life as may be of importance to the agricultural interests, the fish and game resources, the recreational privileges, and the educational standards of the people of the State. It was also recommended that three members of the Academy of Science be appointed to act in an advisory capacity to assist the Iowa Geological Survey in this task. And it was urged that the Academy endorse a legislative appropriation of $2000 to carry forward this work.

Two papers on water purification were presented by Jack J. Hinman, Jr., one in 1926 dealing with ''The Present Tendencies in the Bacteriological Examination of Water'', and the other in 1927 relative to the ''Measurement of the Quality of Water''. In 1928 A. H. Wieters discussed the ''Status of Stream Pollution in Iowa''. He called attention to the fact that stream pollution had in the past been quite common, but that conditions were being improved. Industries and municipalities, he said, ''are co-operating and taking cognizance of their deficiencies in this matter and

[84] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXXI, pp. 149-155.

it appears that Iowa is entering into a new era as far as stream pollution is concerned.''[85]

The matter of conservation, which has been of interest to members of the Academy from an early date, continues to be of outstanding importance. A report of the Committee on Conservation presented in 1927 clearly sets forth the views of the Academy on this subject. The committee in this report called attention to the fact that there is a growing tendency to make State parks merely recreation centers. The committee agreed that these parks should provide for recreation in part, ''but they should also serve as sanctuaries for the remnants of our native plant and animal life for scientific and general conservation purposes, as was originally intended.'' The committee also recommended that the Academy give its approval to the policy of setting aside certain portions of the larger parks, and other smaller suitable areas, especially in the vicinity of educational institutions, for the preservation of wild life and natural conditions.

''The protection of both the waters and the forests'', the committee said, ''is a great economic necessity, as it is essential to the preservation and propagation of all wild life, and these two great problems, or rather divisions of one great problem, form a common bond of interest which must unite all conservationists.''[86]

As in former decades a considerable number of the papers presented to the Academy were of a technical or academic nature. As has been pointed out, however, the purely scientific approach — the study of science for its intellectual and cultural effect, for the delight and satisfaction which it affords — frequently precedes and is funda-

[85] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXXI, pp. 21, 431, Vol. XXXIII, p. 65, Vol. XXXIV, p. 69, Vol. XXXV, pp. 63-67.

[86] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 31-33.

mentally a part of the later development and practical application of science. Accordingly, an inestimable value attaches to the papers of a purely scientific nature which have been presented to the Academy. Among the papers of this type which have been presented in recent years may be mentioned "Notes on Iowa Fungi", by G. W. Martin; "The Effect of Pressure on Chemical Reaction", by F. E. Brown; "Studies on Germination of Trees and Woody Plants", by L. H. Pammel; and "The Electric Conductivity of Kerosene and Gasoline as a Function of the Temperature", by C. A. Morehouse.[87]

The presidential addresses delivered since 1920 contain much that is of interest not only to members of the Academy but to students of science everywhere. The address in 1921 by Nicholas Knight dealt with a wide and comprehensive subject — "American Science". He said that Egypt, Greece, Rome, France, England, and Germany had each in turn been looked upon as the center of the world's intellectual life. Since the war, however, America stands in the forefront. "In these reconstruction days", he said, "the Iowa Academy of Science has an important mission to perform. We delight to think of it as an organization making its contribution to knowledge, encouraging its members to build up the waste places in Iowa science, and doing our part in every possible relation." In conclusion he said: "Our number of specially trained should increase, and the work we do should be sufficient in quantity and of that high quality that will give us a good standing among other learned societies. We have our own part in making our nation a world power in the field of productive scholarship."[88]

[87] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXXII, p. 219, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 97, 145, Vol. XXXIV, p. 271, Vol. XXXV, p. 241.

[88] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 33-36.

During the summer of 1922 a number of Iowa scientists organized an expedition to the Fiji Islands and New Zealand, and a number of papers dealing with scientific conditions in those islands were presented to the Iowa Academy of Science. Among these may be mentioned "A Zoological Park in New Zealand", by Dayton Stoner; and the presidential address by R. B. Wylie in 1923 on the subject "Botanical Notes on Fiji and New Zealand". In this latter address Dr. Wylie discussed the beauties of the tropics and the wealth of botanical material available there. In speaking of conditions in Fiji he said: "the luxuriance of the vegetation was rather less than had been anticipated; the trees seem to stand relatively far apart and they are not as large as I had expected to find in a region of tropical rain forests. But the somewhat scattered look of the forest, viewed from afar, is quite misleading, for near approach reveals a jungle of smaller plants, and attempts to leave the beaten path reveal barriers in the form of dense growths of all types — lianas, creeping vines, outflung roots, and tall rushes growing up from a soil that is itself often bare of ground vegetation and where one's foot falls into soft mud, the light being too dim to promote a surface growth." Many other interesting facts relative to Fiji and New Zealand were presented by Dr. Wylie.[89]

In 1924 L. H. Pammel in his presidential address — "A Century of Botany in Iowa" — discussed many of the advancements made during the past hundred years, referring to many scientists and their work. Other presidential addresses delivered during the decade include: "The Cosmology of the Universe", by D. W. Morehouse; "The Social Responsibility of Science", by Orrin H. Smith; "The Ministry of Science", by R. I. Cratty; "The Evolution of

[89] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXX, pp. 45-54, 143, Vol. XXXI, p. 331.

an Idea", by Carl E. Seashore; "Atomicity in Physical Nature", by L. D. Weld; and "Contributions to the Pleistocene Deposits of Iowa", by George F. Kay.[90]

A review of the work of the Iowa Academy of Science reveals the fact that throughout its history its growth and development has been gradual and constant. Beginning with a very limited membership it has grown both in size and in influence until it has attained a place of high rank. Its published proceedings, at first very limited in scope, have likewise grown to large and representative proportions, and throughout the years they have preserved a wealth of historical and scientific material. Interest has been stimulated and maintained in the various branches of science. Bacteriology, botany, chemistry, geology, mathematics, physics, psychology, and zoölogy have each received due recognition. Scientists in every field of learning, whether ripe with years of experience or youthful and aspiring in the field of research, have been encouraged to prepare studies for presentation. A closer fellowship among individuals and a closer coöperation among institutions have also been attained. Most of all, after more than three-quarters of a century of development and growth, the Academy moves on to ever widening spheres of influence. In the words of a former president, the Academy "exists not merely for Iowa but for the world, serving as a means of assisting Iowa to make generous contributions to the welfare of this nation and of the entire world."[91]

[90] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXIX, pp. 41-48, Vol. XXXI, pp. 45-68, Vol. XXXII, pp. 47-54, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 49-57, Vol. XXXV, pp. 45-53.

[91] *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 29-32.

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SOME IOWA LECTURES AND CONVERSATIONS OF AMOS BRONSON ALCOTT

[This is the third article by Mr. Hoeltje on the general subject of lectures in Iowa. *Notes on the History of Lecturing in Iowa 1855-1885* appeared in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1927. *Ralph Waldo Emerson in Iowa* was printed in the April, 1927, issue of the same periodical. —The Editor]

In 1870 *Little Women* had already been written, and the famous authoress was traveling in Europe upon the proceeds of the sale of a hundred thousand copies of her various writings. Fruitlands had become only a family memory and a classic incident in the history of ideal communities. The Abel Lamb of "Transcendental Wild Oats" had turned his face from the wall and was finding new courage in the career of his talented daughter. Mrs. Hope was no longer a beast of burden.[1] The year 1870 found the most beloved literary family in America in fairly happy circumstances.

THE VISIT IN 1870–1871

It was in 1870 that some small printed cards were circulated in several cities of Iowa. They bore this legend:

"Mr. Alcott's Conversations for 1870-71.

IDEALS

General Course:

I. Personal
II. Social
III. Political
IV. Industrial
V. Spiritual

Occasional:

New England Authors. East and West"

[1] A humorous account of Fruitlands (a proposed ideal community) and the part played in it by her father (Abel Lamb) and her mother (Mrs. Hope) is to be found in Miss Louisa M. Alcott's *Silver Pitchers* in the chapter entitled "Transcendental Wild Oats".

Unable to gain recognition in the East, Amos Bronson Alcott was seeking his fortune in the West.[2] Ralph Waldo Emerson, Alcott's neighbor and friend, had come to the West to be acclaimed a great lecturer and writer, to find in the West the highest point of his popularity.[3] Alcott, whose eastern audiences listened gladly when there was no financial consideration,[4] came west and found more liberal friends.

At Dubuque. — At Dubuque, where he was a guest of Mr. and Mrs. Austin Adams, Alcott spent a fortnight during December, 1870. He gave three parlor conversations, with from forty to sixty men and women present at each. He addressed the young women of Lee Seminary and met with Mrs. D. N. Cooley's Palestine Sunday School class of some seventy young men and women. The business men's literary club — the Round Table — entertained him and were entertained by his conversation. He spoke before the Ladies' Conversation Club, and was a frequent visitor in the Dubuque Young Men's Library. Everywhere he was greeted with kindness, and the various organizations to which he had spoken vied with one another in claiming the greatest favor in his esteem. As a philosopher he was regarded as a compeer of Emerson; his conversations were the literary event of the season.[5]

At Davenport. — After a Christmas spent in Dubuque,

[2] The writer is indebted for his first knowledge of Alcott's Iowa visits to Mr. Ralph Waldo Lamson, Fairfield, Iowa. Inasmuch as Alcott's journals are inaccessible to scholars, this account of the philosopher's conversations in Iowa is avowedly incomplete.

[3] See Halvorsen's *Growth of the Reputation of Ralph Waldo Emerson.* (Iowa City, 1925).

[4] Cheney's *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters and Journals,* p. 273.

[5] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), December 16, 1870; "Letter from Dubuque" in *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 9, 1871.

the "Sage of Concord"[6] left for Davenport, where for a week he held conversations at the home of Mr. and Mrs. George H. French. Miss Alice French (Octave Thanet), their daughter, said of Alcott: "I remember him distinctly, a long, lean, large-framed man with a gentle clean-shaven face, graying hair, worn rather long, and a benignant eye. He had a kind of tolerant wisdom; and he had brought out of many disillusions a humorous charity. . . . His conversations were delightful. They were held at our house and a number of our friends and his made up a purse of such generous proportions that he was vastly pleased. 'This will please Mrs. Alcott', said he, smiling; 'she will be surprised, too. She didn't expect so much, she is contented with a little; she knows I am not worth much.' "

He was somewhat of a problem to his liberal hostess when she arranged her menus. By principle he was opposed to eating meat, or soup made from meat. "But I fear", said Miss French, "that my mother by christening each soup from its predominant vegetable and never mentioning its evil companion, rather smuggled soup past his scruples." However, he was "a gentleman as well as a sage; and not to incommode his hostess he explained that he ate oysters and eggs, and drank milk even if it were stolen from the calf. . . . Certainly he won our hearts. No one could have shared some of his views less than my own people, but we all had both affection and admiration for him; and we were all charmed by his talk."[7]

It was Alcott's fate from the date of his first visit to Iowa to be introduced as "the father of Miss Louisa M. Alcott". He was not unaware of the humor in this situation, and in his letters home wrote that he was "riding

[6] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), December 16, 1870.

[7] From a letter from Miss French to the writer dated March 31, 1926, Pass Christian, Mississippi.

in Louisa's chariot, and adored as the grandfather of *Little Women.*''[8] Nevertheless, the venerable philosopher made a distinct appeal of his own. As he sat in the parlors where he held his *conversazioni,* in the center of an admiring group, there was a gentle dignity and command in his presence. It was a picture of the ancient mode of teaching — Plato sitting among his disciples, talking, asking and answering questions. Alcott was happy in such meetings. He liked to repeat that in such a group earnest thoughts and mutual sympathies found better expression than in the lecture or the sermon. In the parlor, said he, woman reigned, and formality gave way to grace.[9]

On successive evenings in the French home he talked on ''New England Authors'', ''Social Life'', ''Culture'', and ''The Pagans and Their Doctrines''.[10]

In referring to books, libraries, and literary clubs as a means of culture, Alcott spoke with feeling of the Dubuque Round Table, the Ladies' Conversation Club, and the unusual library there. He expressed the opinion that he had met in Dubuque a gifted woman who promised to win recognition as a leader of her sex.[11]

The conversation on ''The Pagans and Their Doctrines'' brought to the home of Mr. and Mrs. French the largest number of listeners present at any of the conversations. The topic embraced a discussion of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, their personal peculiarities, beliefs, teachings,

[8] Cheney's *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters, and Journals,* p. 275.

[9] *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 5, 1871.

[10] See pages 393-399 for synopses of conversations on ''New England Authors'', ''Culture'', and ''The Pagans and Their Doctrines''.

[11] *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 9, 1871. It is probable that Alcott referred to Mrs. Austin Adams, at whose home he had been a guest and with whom he had corresponded. She was a prominent woman of the State, a member of many societies and clubs, an earnest worker for equal suffrage.

and methods of instruction. Their teachings, too, were compared with those of the Jews, who made the first direct affirmation of the immortality of the soul.

This conversation aroused unusual interest, and many questions were proposed with reference to the origin of the doctrine of immortality, the belief in the resurrection, and the changes taking place in the religious world. There was no controversy, however. With the grace and dexterity of a firm hand, the philosopher wielded the scapel with which he amputated a prejudice here, a preconceived opinion there. He had apparently discovered a mental chloroform which prevented the operation from hurting, for his patients awoke to discover their antipathies gone, and to feel a common belief in the universal Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of the race.

Upon the occasion of the Davenport visit, Alcott also spoke before the students of Griswold College — on January 6, 1871 — relating many reminiscences of his distinguished daughter.

Those who sat at the feet of this Gamaliel listened with wrapt attention. When he left for the East, affection accompanied him, and behind him remained many happy memories. Still, there were a few practical souls to whom Alcott's views did not seem altogether workable. "His ideal church", said one of these, in speaking of Alcott's sermon in the Davenport Unitarian Church on January 8, 1871, "is what all liberal minds must desire, but which we imagine will arrive 'when cockle shells turn silver bells, and jewels grow on ilka tree.' "[12]

THE VISIT OF 1872–1873

Almost two years passed. Fall came and found the

[12] *The Davenport Daily Democrat*, January 9, 1871; *The Davenport Daily Gazette*, January 9, 1871.

peripatetic philosopher again making preparations for a western tour. On November 1, 1872, he wrote to Mrs. Austin Adams of Dubuque about his plans:

I am leaving for the West soon after the elections are over, and hope to reach Dubuque by the 16th. 'Tis later by a whole fortnight than I wished, but a freeman is unwilling to forego his suffrage in times like the present. I shall stop a train or two at Syracuse, Buffalo, Detroit and Chicago, to arrange for conversations on my return homewards. These are now fairly advertised in most of the western cities . . . . Should invitations thicken I may prolong my stay into the new year . . . .

Should you have anything to communicate before I reach your city, you may address me at Detroit, where I shall stop a day with the Governor and his family on my way out.

Two editions of Concord Days are nearly sold, and a third proposed for the holidays. Mr. Emerson and Ellen sailed for England on the 23rd to be gone till spring. [Emerson had been a visitor in Mrs. Adams' home early in January, 1871] . . . . Tyndall's lectures were fascinating. Froude and other Englishmen I have not seen.

I am looking West with hope and interest, and shall soon (the Forces permitting) be with you and yours.

Very truly
A. Bronson Alcott[13]

Louisa Alcott was now at home after her European trip. Her father's preparations for western conversations engaged her interest, too. In her journal she wrote:

November (1872) — Got Father off for the West, all neat and comfortable. I enjoyed every penny spent, and had a happy time packing his new trunk with warm flannels, neat shirts, gloves, etc., and seeing the dear man go off in a new suit, overcoat, hat, and all, like a gentleman. We both laughed over the pathetic old times with tears in our eyes, and I reminded him of the 'poor as poverty, but serene as heaven' saying.[14]

[13] This letter is in the collection of the Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

[14] Cheney's *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters, and Journals,* p. 267.

At Dubuque. — By the middle of the month Alcott was in Dubuque, the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Austin Adams once more. On November 18th he spoke before the members of the Round Table in their rooms in the Facade. It was observed that he wore his gray hair like a true philosopher.[15]

At the request of Professor Beach, he visited the high school the following morning after recess and held the attention of the young people for an hour. The former teacher, whose experimental pedagogy had once shocked the residents of Boston, reminded his young audience of his Dubuque visit of some months ago and told them how pleased he was to visit the schools wherever he went, and thus renew his own youth by association with bright sunny faces, lit up with eyes beaming with intelligence.

The "grandfather of *Little Women*" concluded his talk, which touched on various phases of education, with a modest reference to the works of his daughter, of the many admirers of her work in this country and abroad, and of the additional writings she was then preparing for the press.[16]

On the evening of November 23, 1872, Mrs. R. A. Babbage entertained the members of the Round Table at her home. Invitations had been extended, also, to a large number of ladies and gentlemen who were not members of this club, among these being Bishop Alfred Lee, Hon. W. B. Allison, and Major G. L. Torbert. The occasion was a conversation on "Character" led by Alcott. The guests included many of the leading people of Dubuque.

The gracious hostess made the entertainment a pleasant and agreeable success. There was one man present, however, who had his own thoughts about the views of the

[15] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), November 19, 1872.

[16] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), November 20, 1872. See pages 399-401 for a synopsis of this talk.

philosophic conversationalist, and that man reported the event for one of the Dubuque papers and gave his opinion of the philosophy of Alcott.

This man was accustomed to the immediate realities of life. He knew newspaper thought, he was acquainted with politics, with business, with the motives that move the world around from day to day. Mist and moonshine were not in his field. Yet he was not unkind, and he respected the leaders of his community. Alcott must have read his review with mixed feelings.

> We do not propose any report of what was said, for the general public are not up to that elevated plane where they would appreciate it; nor could we succeed in a report did we attempt it, for like the rest of the public we have not yet arrived at that place where we could appreciate it. The character that was discussed was not the character of ordinary men, men who live in this world, eat and drink, and get rich and poor, and are born, and die, who love and hate, laugh and weep, real men of flesh and bone, men like you and I, reader; but it was an able and learned disquisition upon some imaginary character, such as was never seen upon this earth and never will be. The character discussed was not that which we call good, bad or indifferent, and such as we meet with every day; but was traced back to a somewhere or a Something of the most ethereal nature such as could not be touched, tasted nor handled by people of this world or any other world, not of the earth earthy, nor of the heavens heavenly. Mr. Alcott is one of those gentlemen whose conversation soars into the regions of the unattainable and dives into the depths of the unfathomable, but is not of the kind that ever makes two blades of grass to grow where but one grew before.
>
> Still Mr. Alcott is a pleasant talker and a genial gentleman, perhaps ahead of his day in thought, mind and culture, but that is his good fortune and the misfortune of the rest of mankind.[17]

On Sunday morning Alcott attended the Sunday School of the First Universalist Church, of which J. N. Pardee

[17] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), November 24, 1872.

was pastor. His address to the children that morning is unrecorded.[18]

It must not be imagined that the Alcott conversations were stiff, formal affairs at which people solemnly gathered to sit in a strained silence to listen to Wisdom. Not only ethereal food was eaten; frequently there was cake and coffee, and such other refreshments as are grossly craved by men who "love and hate, laugh and weep". If the conversations now and then ran to monologue, that was not Alcott's purpose. He encouraged lively comments and questions.

And questions were often proposed that required considerable tact and ingenuity in the answering. When Mrs. D. N. Cooley invited her Palestine Sunday School class to her home on Monday evening, November 25, 1872, to meet the Concord sage, one of the "press gang" was present. This guest listened eagerly when the query was asked — "What do you think, Mr. Alcott, of newspaper reading?"

Alcott was a philosopher, and he answered wisely. He could not entirely refrain from speaking ironically of the moral tone and literary value of newspapers; nevertheless, he thought it advisable to read newspapers if the reader were careful in making his choice of papers. It would be well, during political contests, such as the one just past, to read a number of papers to get a view of various sides of public questions. Newspapers had been useful in making knowledge general; they had made pulpit oratory migratory. Perhaps newspapers after all could not be blamed for the tone of their publications, since they but represented the thought and sentiment of the age. If newspapers did not present the kind of reading matter people wanted, they could not very well exist. It has not been the

[18] *The Dubuque Daily Times,* November 24, 1872.

disposition of men of judgment to run contrary to public sentiment if they have desired success. Doubtless many editors were personally dissatisfied with their papers.

On the question of reading in general, Mr. Alcott thought it well to limit one's reading. Great readers were generally great dunces, and bookworms intolerable. He did not condemn novel reading, for young ladies *would* read novels in spite of what old folks might say.

The conversation, the coffee and the cake, and the general stirring about, occupied the evening. It was eleven o'clock when Mrs. Cooley's guests took their departure.[19]

November 29, 1872, was probably the happiest day that Alcott spent in the West. In her journal Louisa wrote: "December (1872) — Father very busy and happy. On his birthday had a gold-headed cane given him. He is appreciated out there."[20]

This cane was inscribed "A Birthday Gift to A. Bronson Alcott — From His Dubuque Friends, 1872". It was presented with an apology that was a compliment, that "the cane was intended not as a stay for his declining years, but as an appreciable invitation to journey westward again." This present was one of a number.

The birthday was observed by a party of friends who gathered at the Adams home in the evening. Alcott was in a mood of elation. Many of his seventy-three anniversaries had not been so happy as this one. Across his mind, perhaps, flitted a memory of his early ventures in conversations — a picture of a half-frozen wanderer returning home at night to be embraced by five white-gowned female figures, all longing to ask if he had made any money, yet fearful of the reply. All that he had had to bring them

[19] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), November 26, 1872.

[20] Cheney's *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters, and Journals,* p. 268.

was a single dollar — that and the news that his overcoat had been stolen, and that they were even poorer than before.[21] How dark the world had seemed then, and how bright it seemed now!

After coffee, the company being seated, it was suggested to Mr. Alcott that many of those present would like to hear his estimate of the West as compared with the East. Only Fate could have made that suggestion then and there!

Mr. Alcott first thanked his friends for their remembrances and then complimented Dubuque, as in his estimation, the choicest part of the West.

We are just beginning to find out in the East that we are slow, he said. In the West a young man gains a position for his talents ten or twelve years sooner than he does in the East. In the West people think more independently than in the East. The East is more learned, perhaps, but the West is doing more for civilization. In the West people are more ready to listen to the diviner minds.

Mr. Alcott praised the West for its evidences of thought and learning, and mentioned specifically the Plato Club at Jackson, the Woman's Club at Quincy, and the Journal of Speculative Philosophy at St. Louis, which had at first startled the East but which was soon recognized in England and Germany as a publication of national character.

The clergymen of Dubuque, he thought, manifested a large, broad, catholic spirit in going beneath their creeds for the underlying strata of common truth. The West was famous for its clergymen — it had trained the most influential preacher of the East.[22]

When this birthday conversation was reported the next day, the review contained this comment:

[21] Cheney's *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters, and Journals,* pp. 69-70.

[22] The writer who reported this conversation thought Alcott referred to James Freeman Clarke. It is possible that H. W. Beecher was meant.

Such a character as Mr. Alcott's — though he may not have made "two blades of grass grow where but one grew before" — by showing men and women how much they believe in common; how easy it is for them to unite in the choicest fellowship, while disagreeing on intellectual propositions, is doing as great a work as he who stimulates the productions of the soil, or increases the wealth of the nations. This life of ours cannot be made so rich in material things that we can afford to lose an opportunity for improving the quality of our minds, or the conditions of our social natures.[23]

On Sunday evening, December 1, 1872, Alcott lectured in the Universalist Church, speaking to a very large audience on "The Religious Tendencies of the Times". All peoples in all ages, he asserted in this lecture, have had their incarnations, of which Jesus, the son of Mary, was one. He rejoiced in the progress of the liberal spirit in religion and the oneness of spirit toward which religious tendencies were working. He hoped for the time when church edifices would be arranged with more intelligent reference to the special needs of the people.[24]

At Fort Dodge. — After his conversations in Dubuque, Alcott went to Fort Dodge. There, on Sunday afternoon, December 9th, he addressed the children of the Progressive Lyceum. Many men and women, beside those regularly attending to witness the children's exercises, were present, attracted by the opportunity to hear the noted visitor. His conversations in Fort Dodge created an increasing interest as the evenings passed. He was frankly admired. His views were thought broad, and his spirit Christian and benevolent. The methods employed in his conversations, although regarded as novel, were heartily approved.[25]

[23] *The Dubuque Daily News,* December 1, 1872.

[24] See *Concord Days,* pp. 266, 267, for Alcott's elaboration of this idea; *The Dubuque Daily News,* December 3, 1872.

[25] *The Fort Dodge Messenger,* December 12, 1872.

At Iowa City. — On the morning of December 24, 1872, Alcott arrived in Iowa City. He was announced as the literary associate of Longfellow and Hawthorne, in philosophy the peer of Emerson. It was observed that he had recently been in Dubuque entertaining the people of that city with his conversations.

His first appearance in Iowa City was at the home of Professor and Mrs. James Edmunds, where he gave a conversation on "Character". This was on Wednesday, Christmas Day, December 25th. Saturday evening a formal reception was given him at the Edmunds home, to which professors and their wives and students had been invited. Charles H. Preston, then a student in the medical college of the University, a few days later entered this in his diary: "Last Sunday Mr. Alcott, father of the author of *Little Women,* lectured in Rev. Ijam's pulpit on 'The Ideal Church'. I had conversed with him a little while the evening before at the reception given for him by Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Edmunds. Alcott is a curious ancient. Believes in evolution downwards. Transcendentalist."[26]

On Friday evening, December 27th, Alcott spoke on "New England Authors" in Irving (South) Hall.[27] The attendance was large. Talking without formal introduction, the speaker asked to be pardoned if he showed some partiality in dwelling rather lovingly upon the authors resident in Concord, his home town, since he had a pride in the place and its people. There occurred the first battle of the Revolution; there, to quote Emerson, "was fired the shot heard round the world." At the close of his talk he was requested, as he frequently was, to tell somewhat of the author of *Little Women.*

[26] This diary entry from her husband's diary was given by Mrs. Ruth Irish Preston, Davenport, Iowa.

[27] Admission to this lecture was fifty cents.

The student publication at the University considered Alcott "a suggestive and very pleasing speaker" and his lecture on New England or Concord authors was especially regarded as a "rich treat".[28]

On Sunday morning, December 29th, the philosopher occupied the pulpit of the Congregational Church.[29]

At Davenport. — Once more the "Sage of Concord" turned his steps toward Davenport, where he arrived on December 31, 1872. The following evening, when a number of the members of the Unitarian Church gathered at the home of their pastor, Rev. N. S. Seaver, Alcott's host, to tender the minister a New Year's gift, the occasion was taken to invite Mr. Alcott to give one of his conversations, a request with which the sage kindly complied with a seasonable discourse on "Time".

Two conversations, on "Culture" and "Character", were held at the home of Richard B. Hill, No. 1 Clinton Place. Cards of admission had been obtainable from George H. French, John C. Bills, and from Mr. Hill.

On Sunday evening, January 5, 1873, Alcott spoke in the Unitarian Church on "The Aspect and Tendencies of Modern Religious Thought". The following Wednesday this church was the scene of a lecture on "Brook Farm and the Concord Literati".[30]

At Muscatine. — The Scientific Club of Muscatine met on January 10th to consider inviting Mr. Alcott to come to their city, and it was agreed to ask him to deliver a lecture and to give a conversation as soon as he might find it convenient to do so.[31]

[28] *The University Reporter* (Iowa City), January, 1873.

[29] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), December 24-28, 1872.

[30] *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 1-3, 1873. To the last lecture, single admission was 50c, gentleman and lady, 75c.

[31] *Muscatine Weekly Journal,* January 17, 1873.

Accordingly on January 18th a conversation was held at the home of Mr. Musser. The following evening Alcott lectured in Tremont Hall. This conversation was on "Culture" and had been given in Iowa before, but the event was significant, for in his opening remarks Alcott spoke more highly of the West than he had done upon any previous occasion. He asserted now that the West was in advance of the East in everything constituting American culture. He spoke of the West's more liberal thought, its freedom from shackling traditions — women as teachers in its schools, the admission of both sexes to its colleges and universities.[32]

Alcott's 1872-1873 Iowa conversations, it seems, ended at Burlington, where, among other places, he spoke at the Public Library on Friday evening, January 24th.[33] He had been in Iowa two and one-half months.

The happiness of Bronson Alcott in his success in the West was not without alloy. Mrs. Alcott was failing in health. The darkening shadow hung over the family and cast its gloom into the heart of the philosopher. Louisa confided in her diary:

> November and December (1873). — Decided that it was best not to try a cold, lonely winter in C(oncord), but to go to B(oston) with Mother, Nan, and boys, and leave Father free for the West.
>
> Took sunny rooms at the South End, near the Park, so the lads could play out and Marmee walk. She enjoyed the change, and sat at her window watching people, horse-cars, and sparrows with great interest . . . .
>
> January, 1874. Mother quite ill this month. . . . The slow decline has begun, and she knows it, having nursed her mother to the same end.
>
> Father disappointed and rather sad, to be left out of so much that he could enjoy and should be asked to help and adorn. A

[32] *Muscatine Weekly Journal*, January 24, 1873.

[33] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), January 29, 1873.

little more money, a pleasant house and time to attend it, and I'd bring all the best people to see and entertain *him*.[34]

THE VISIT OF 1874

To entertain others, however, was still Alcott's fate. In mid-December, 1874, he arrived in Davenport, made arrangements for several conversations, and on January 18th was registered at the Lorimier House, Dubuque.[35]

Two days later — Sunday — he was again in Davenport to speak at the Unitarian Church, of which the Reverend S. S. Hunting was now pastor. The Tuesday evening following, he once more lectured in this church on "New England Authors".[36] On the intervening evening, December 21st, Alcott was the guest of the Davenport Academy of Sciences. To members of this organization he addressed a half hour's talk on "Reading". Many questions were asked after his address. His answers showed "an extreme familiarity with the leading authors and a depth and clearness of philosophical reasoning seldom met with in a lifetime."[37]

The hurried journey to Dubuque had been made to prepare for a more extended visit. Christmas was again spent in Dubuque. Again in his lectures and conversations Alcott was the admired of many friends.

THE VISIT OF 1881

What was, perhaps, Alcott's last visit to Iowa was made in March, 1881, when, according to his own voluminous diary,[38] he seems to have visited Burlington, Mt. Pleasant,

[34] Cheney's *Louisa May Alcott, Her Life, Letters, and Journals*, p. 272.

[35] *The Dubuque Daily News*, December 19, 1874.

[36] *The Davenport Daily Democrat*, December 22, 1874.

[37] *The Davenport Daily Gazette*, December 22, 1874.

[38] Consulted for me by its present owner, Mrs. F. Alcott Pratt, Concord, Massachusetts.

Des Moines, Ames, Cedar Rapids, and Dubuque. Although Alcott was at this time eighty-two years old, and though he walked with "the uncertain step of age", his presence was possibly more attractive and imposing than ever before. His tall, spare figure, dressed in clerical black, at once made him conspicuous. A high collar and black satin stock of a mode of a past generation suggested a pleasing remoteness. Any intimation of austerity, however, was relieved by the softened outline of his long white hair, and by the kind and restful expression of his face. His auditors attest to a not unfrequent quiet laughter that put them at their ease and gave evidence of Alcott's own repose.

As upon previous occasions, Alcott's conversations were in part concerned with Hawthorne, Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, and Emerson. Certainly he did much to spread the fame of those New England celebrities. In his talks on Emerson, Alcott acknowledged his indebtedness to his friend and neighbor with a gratifying forthrightness.

There was, however, a new note in what Alcott had to say. He made his appearance now not merely as one who could testify concerning the New England authors, nor merely as the father of Louisa Alcott, but in his own right as the founder of the Concord School of Philosophy. His listeners were interested in this venture, which was, of course, dear to Alcott's heart — the culmination of many dreams. Alcott spoke with great respect of Professor Harris of St. Louis, editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* who had been prominent in the Concord School. He pointed out as a major advantage of the School the opportunity it provided for discussion, a method of learning, he thought, much superior to that of acquiring knowledge from the printed page.[39]

[39] *Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 27, 29, 1881.

This emphasis upon the oral word, it might be said in passing, was at once the cause of Alcott's success in informal groups and the reason for his almost total neglect today. He wrote but little (save in his journals), and, if we are to believe Emerson, did not appear at his best in his writings. It is evident from his own *Concord Days*[40] that he himself was convinced that the conversation was his *forte*. Unless we are to assume that the leading people in the communities in which Alcott spoke were dupes, we must believe that as a conversationalist he was fascinating and inspiring. Unfortunately he lacked the reporter enjoyed by Socrates and Docter Johnson; consequently his reputation has depended largely upon unsympathetic listeners who have stressed only the oddities of his character.

In the history of Iowa lecturing, certainly, no speaker more thoroughly won the affection of his listeners. Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass were heroes, but their popularity was not of the heart; John B. Gough touched chords of sentiment, yet he merely spoke and moved on, memories of his oratory, not of his personality, lingering; Ralph Waldo Emerson, reserved, detached, admittedly the leading literary figure of America, whom all wanted to see and hear, for the most part pursued a lonely way. Alcott, gracious, benign, moved familiarly among those to whom he spoke. He was a congenial person as well as a philosopher, and if his views sometimes seemed too ethereal ever to become embodied, he was none the less admired, the charm of his conversation quite compensating his temporary departures into the regions of the unattainable or into the depths of the unfathomable.

His conversations were seldom fully reported, but fragments of these talks may be found in local papers. Some of these are given below.

[40] *Concord Days* (1888 Edition), p. 177.

REPORTS OF ALCOTT'S CONVERSATION ON NEW ENGLAND AUTHORS[41]

The fact that an author is born in America is not necessarily evidence that he is American. Most of us, authors and all, are only very slightly removed from European associations. Thoreau, with his intensity of democratic feeling, was perhaps the only one truly American; but perhaps it would be best to have only one Thoreau in the world, constituted as it is at present.[42] Distinctive Americanism began with the nineteenth century; it is only since then that American genius appeared in our literature and life. Doctor Channing first developed it through his fresh ideas in theology. It was his belief that there was in the soul of man something that theology had not before regarded or represented.

After Channing came Emerson, a man with a certain feminine grace, a gentleness which one expects in a woman and is the strength of genius. He is a tall, slender man, with a remarkable head, of which phrenology can make nothing, since he contradicts all its theories. His power, perhaps, lies in the quality rather than in the quantity of his brain.

Emerson's church consists of one member — himself. He waits for the world to agree with him. He is not a proselyter, he presses his opinions upon no one, not even upon his children, for Ellen, his daughter, is a pillar of Concord church, as is his son, both believers in the Everlasting Word — with their own interpretation.

Emerson is an idealist, the prince of idealists. An ideal-

[41] Except where references to other sources have been made, the material bearing upon the conversation on "New England Authors" is taken from the *Daily Press* (Iowa City), December 27, 1872, where the conversation is reviewed with a fair degree of fullness.

[42] *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 5-9, 1871; *The Davenport Daily Democrat,* January 7-9, 1871.

ist is one who sits in the clouds on a mountain top, where he can see what passes in the valleys below better than those in the valleys themselves. His ideas must run the gauntlet of time and experience. If they win, they are true; if they lose, they must pass as dreams and visions.

The literature and manners of America, its institutions, almost, have been influenced by the ideas of Emerson. He lives to think. When a thought occurs to him, he records it in his commonplace book. Presently he assembles the recorded thoughts relating to one idea and reads them as a lecture. That page which is read first today may be read last tomorrow, and the next day's beginning may be what was in the middle the day before. Finally he crystallizes the whole into a printed essay, which one may read backward or forward — no matter. Does it make any difference where one begins to look at the firmament? Does one search for the logic of the stars? Are not the Heavens all, and in each constellation, beautiful?

No danger that his essay will not succeed. He has tried it in the lecture room before fifty audiences. If they have not approved, it is not printed.

Emerson lives in a plain house — but then Concord is a plain town, too. Running through it is a river which flows both ways, it is said, after the manner of its leading genius. Concord has recently been enlarged by the annexation of Boston.

Hawthorne's books have become widely read. Hawthorne himself was in various ways the very opposite of Emerson. An olive-tinted man, hanging brows, clumsy body, but grand in his chair, a Websterian head, hazel eyes, and bashful as a maid. He seemed like a girl whose spirit had been caught and imprisoned in his body and was trying to escape from those strange quarters.

His genius was dark and sombre. He loved to paint sin.

Get a good strong sinner and he was the man for Hawthorne. Apparently he had a strong desire to meet somebody, although he never let himself satisfy this desire. A taste for his works is largely governed by temperament; dark complexioned people are more disposed to read and appreciate his books than blonds, because brunettes are naturally more melancholy.[43]

Hawthorne was Mr. Alcott's next-door neighbor, but was in his house only twice. The first time the stove was too hot, the second time the clock ticked too loud. He had but few intimate acquaintances, and was fond of old woodchoppers and salts and sinners. He wanted characters for his writings, but since there were so many common people in the world, he wanted uncommon ones. He seldom left his home; it is said that he was never seen on the street by daylight until after he was married. On his house was a tower into which he retreated when he wrote, sitting upon the trapdoor to avoid intrusion by callers.

After his consulate in England he was once induced to meet with the Atlantic Club, but never went again, because, he said, he could find better company. One day he ventured to leave his home in company with his old friend and classmate, former President Franklin Pierce, to make a visit in New Hampshire. The next day he was found dead in bed.

Henry D. Thoreau was devoted to a study of nature. In this he was aided by eyes so large that they seemed to protrude behind him. True, he owed something to Harvard, yet after graduating he would not stay for his diploma, because he thought a dollar and a half more than it was worth.

Henry said he did not know about churches and creeds and schools, but he did know something about Henry

[43] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), November 26, 1872.

Thoreau, and he proposed to know him better. So one day he borrowed Mr. Alcott's axe, went into the woods on Emerson's land near Walden pond, and built himself a cabin in which to live the life of a hermit. He studied the pond, the birds, and the animals in the adjoining forest, and wrote *Walden, or Life in the Woods.* After eighteen months he returned to Concord. When he was asked to pay his pew tax, he refused, and was put in jail, where he found a number of prisoners, upon whom he immediately went to work. They liked Henry because he seemed to understand them so well. He read them as he had read the animals about Walden. A friend discharged the tax and Henry was released. When arrested he was on his way to get a shoe mended. When he left the jail he continued on his way to the shoemaker, got his repairs, and went home and wrote a satire on society.

Margaret Fuller ranks with Emerson. A plain woman with auburn hair, blue eyes, and a remarkable voice full of power, she charmed the greatest men of her day. Her book, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century,* concluded the controversy with which it dealt. Mr. Greeley had the merit, among his many merits, to employ her on the *Tribune,* where for the first time a woman's thoughts were given to the world through a great journal. Married in Italy to the Marquis d'Ossoli, she was the historian of the Italian revolution of 1848 and the friend of Mazzini. On her return to America the vessel on which she and her husband and child had taken passage was wrecked. Before the ship sank, she was the last one seen pacing the deck. She had refused the possible rescue offered, asserting that her husband and child were aboard and that she chose to perish with them. Women lost more than they knew in her. She has no equal.

Whittier is the most truly American poet[44] and is likely to be remembered as long as any of our poets. Longfellow is our most cultured poet, his verses follow the speech all over the world, and abroad he represents our poetry's greatest popularity. Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes, eminent in medicine as in literature, has a reputation of trying to keep from being as funny as he can.

So the philosopher chatted kindly and familiarly about his neighbors and about the authors of the day. Charles Sumner he regarded as toweringly great in his chosen field, Wendell Phillips as the moving spirit in almost every reform. He talked, too, of Lowell, Choate, Garrison, Prescott, Miss Phelps, Mrs. Howe, Harriet Hunt. To the West he gave credit for producing Abraham Lincoln, a truly representative American, whose intellectual and moral strength invalidated the Boston notion that a knowledge of Greek and Latin was absolutely necessary to human development.[45]

At the close of his talk he was asked to say something about his daughter Louisa, the author of *Little Women.* He responded that she had charged him not to talk about her, although he had not promised her he would not. He knew something about her early history, he presumed, and from this knowledge gave many interesting incidents from her childhood, the dawning of her genius, her method of writing.

When she set about to write *Little Women* her sisters supplied the female characters, but they had no brother, and there must be a boy in the story. So four boys were called in who sometimes came to see them. However, since none of them alone would suit, Louisa took the best characteristics of each of the boys and out of these constructed the ideal boy of the story with whom the young ladies fall in love.

[44] *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 7, 1871.

[45] *The Davenport Daily Gazette,* January 7, 1871.

REPORTS OF ALCOTT'S CONVERSATION ON CULTURE

Culture differs from education. Culture is what affects us from without, while education represents what is drawn from us. Education therefore adds nothing. A college is successful just in the measure that it succeeds in this drawing-out process. There was a time when the mind was thought to resemble a blank piece of paper, to receive only what was written upon it, without record of the unseen and imperishable. But man is a metaphysical being, with instinct, reason, fancy, speech, and common sense.

Culture should be beautiful, charming, divine — religion in its highest aspect. It should be remembered that the soul makes the body and not the body the soul. Friendship as an element of culture elevates us most. Manners are the most perfect outward sign of culture, although they may deceive for a time and be but a foil for real culture. The art of conversation, which the people of the West seem better to understand, probably more readily distinguishes the social character than anything else.

Much has been said about culture as related to the Darwinian theory. Apehood may be a degradation of manhood, but it is unlikely that manhood is an exaltation of apehood. Such a theory can hardly agree with our theology.[46]

REPORT OF ALCOTT'S CONVERSATION ON THE PAGANS AND THEIR DOCTRINES

A knowledge of Plato is essential to an understanding of Christianity, since so much Platonism is to be found in the New Testament. Christianity itself is essentially Greek, though it came through the Jews. The ancient Hebrews were hard, materialistic, standing for law and will; the Greeks were more spiritual — more thoughtful, going deep-

[46] *The Davenport Daily Democrat,* January 7, 1871; *Muscatine Weekly Journal,* January 24, 1873.

er into the mysteries of religion. The mother of Jesus might well have been a Greek. Of the New Testament writers, John saw the spirit of Jesus most clearly. He was a Jew with a Greek mind. Without him the New Testament would lose much of its spirituality and become but a collection of facts.[47]

REPORT OF ALCOTT'S TALK BEFORE DUBUQUE HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS[48]

You can hardly realize what changes your school work will bring to you. The day may come when you will not recognize your present selves. Remember now that virtue and ability rise to the top, that vice and ignorance will clog the mind of man and sink him into insignificance. Only that which is wise, good, and beautiful can last to the end.

It is not those who sit in palaces who rule the world, but those, no matter how lowly their situation, who properly cultivate their mental faculties.

Let me impress you with the importance of thinking. Some commit their lessons to memory easily and repeat them without knowledge; others appear dull and must spend much time in pondering their studies, yet can tell what the lesson means. There is a great difference between knowing a lesson and reciting it. To know a lesson is to be able to give the ideas contained therein in your own language.

The mind is not merely a bowl to be filled simply by pouring knowledge into it from outside; rather it is a spring from which ideas should flow out. If the mind were a bowl ever receiving, and not like a spring ever flowing outward, how would we reach a knowledge of religion or of conscience?

Your mental capacity is measured by the ideas you give

[47] *The Dubuque Daily News,* December 1, 1872.

[48] Given on November 19, 1872.

out. Your teacher does not take a pair of calipers to measure the external head and thus classify you according to the size of your head; he classifies you according to what he thinks your head contains. It is far better to bring something out of the head than constantly to be cramming things into it.

Concrete things are useful only as employed to demonstrate ideas. Science consists of facts, but poetry is fancy, and inward. So, too, is art. The artist shuts his eyes to external facts, seeing the thing in his mind, throwing it outward and giving it form. He who works with ideas will make the greatest mark in the world.

We are reasoning and imaginative beings, but there is another and higher faculty of which we are possessed, and without which we should be like animals — conscience. It is conscience that shows you the difference between right and wrong, that makes you what you are, that raised you above the animal creation. Would you be happy? Then preserve a consciousness of doing right, for you will always be unhappy when you know that you have done wrong.

All your lessons have a purpose. If you study science, you are studying outward things; if you study the mind, you are learning of inward things. Both studies should be cultivated to maintain a proper balance. Arithmetic and logic will help your reasoning powers; the imagination is cultivated by reading poetry and by studying works of art, paintings and statuary, or even such trifling things as your own costume, its shapes and varied colors.

You can see things only by really using your eyes. Two boys go to see a picture. One will see right into it, and comprehend its lights and shades, finding beauty in every touch of the artist's pencil; the other will turn aside without having seen anything to admire. Those who write books, as, for instance, the author of *Little Women,* first gain the

faculty of writing by using their eyes, and then describing what they see around them. Let me advise you to practice letter writing. The more letters you write, the better. Do not at first choose abstract things for your compositions, but describe the things you see around you — the Mississippi River, for instance, or incidents of everyday occurrence.[49]

Hubert H. Hoeltje

State University of Iowa
Iowa City Iowa

[49] *The Dubuque Herald* (Daily), November 20, 1872.

PEN SKETCHES OF THE BIG WOODS

The early settlers of Iowa found considerable timber fringing the principal rivers and creeks, but there were few large areas of woodland. One tract of timber, known as the "Big Woods", was located in the southern part of Bremer County, Iowa, extending southeastward from Waverly to Jefferson City — now Denver. The eastern edge was three miles wide. A mile west of Denver the woods were nearly four miles in width. Five miles west of Denver the timber extended across the Red Cedar River and two arms spread out like a letter Y. The northern arm extended to Waverly, and the southern arm nearly to Janesville.

This tract of timber included more than twenty-six sections of land. Some were only partially covered with trees, but on more than thirteen sections the trees stood close together.

In the Big Woods were splendid trees of all kinds — hard maple, black walnut, butternut, white oak, elm, ash, basswood, poplar, dogwood, ironwood, and many others. Some one has left a record which indicates the size of some of these trees. A large white oak tree was cut down in the Wapsie bottom, near Tripoli. "Moses Clark and his son", says the chronicler, "worked up the tree, in part, a White Oak, and made 100 rails, 10 ft. long and 800 stakes 8 ft. long. Some of these rails and stakes made more than 20 years ago can be seen on the premises of M. F. Gillett at this time (1875)."

No wonder the settlers on the windswept prairie were desirous of securing a few acres of this fine timber for firewood and lumber. Nor is it strange that an acre of wood-

land was ordinarily worth from five to twenty times as much as an acre of prairie.

A map of the region, published by the county surveyor of Bremer County in 1875, shows that each section of prairie was divided into from four to eight holdings, while sections covered by the Big Woods were divided into much smaller holdings, averaging about forty-six to the section. In some of the densest timber there were as many as sixty-three owners in a single square mile.

The first white settler to locate near the Big Woods was Charles McCafferee, a young man who came in the spring of 1845. He located in Section 34, Jefferson Township, on land that in after years became known as the "Stears" farm. In the fall of that year his mother and his brother, Isaac, came from Scott County to join him. Other families followed. Among the new settlers was a young woman named Cyrinthia Messinger and in 1848 Charles McCafferee and Cyrinthia Messinger drove across the prairie, fording creeks and rivers on their way, to Independence thirty miles away where they were married.

Section thirty-four, however, was not all occupied by 1853, for in that year William Briden came from Michigan to secure some land for a home. An account of the pilgrimage to the Big Woods was prepared by William Briden's daughter, Mrs. Geo. Sevison, who now resides at Janesville, and additional information was given the writer by a son, Henry Briden, who at the time this was written was living in Janesville, still hale and hearty at the age of ninety.

The story of the journey of the Briden family from Michigan to Iowa has in it thrilling adventure and dramatic interest equal to any of the stories told by other persons who travelled to Iowa by the covered wagon. They started from Michigan in June, 1854, Mrs. Briden driving a span

of horses to a light wagon. The oldest son, Horseman, sixteen years old, drove six oxen to a wagon, four of these oxen being yoked for the first time. The second son, Henry, fourteen years of age, rode a young horse and helped his father, mounted on another horse, drive the live stock consisting of 80 head of cattle and 300 sheep. They lost some of the sheep at Dubuque when they fell into the open lead mines there. Henry says that because he was the smallest he was let down into some of these mines by a rope around his waist to rescue the living and bring out the dead sheep, for their hides were valuable.

They had tents and camped out most of the way, being five weeks on the road and having travelled 500 miles. The road distance is much less than that now but it should be remembered that when the Briden family made the journey there were long detours about timber, sloughs, and in search of fords across the streams. On the way they met some men who asked them where they were going and they replied "to the south side of the 'Big Woods' in central Iowa". They then said, "We wouldn't go there; there's nothing there but grass". Mr. Briden said, "that is just what I am looking for as I have everything else". They reached Buffalo Creek, near Independence, Iowa, on the 4th of July and the eldest son tied his clothes to the top of his head and swam the creek to get to Independence to get himself and his brother some firecrackers. A flag made of a red bandanna was raised to celebrate the occasion.

The family reached the sunny side of the "Big Woods" on the 7th day of July, 1854, where they found two log cabins waiting to be occupied. It was eighteen miles across the country to Camp Creek where the nearest house to the southeastward was located and twelve miles from this house to Independence. Merchandise had to be hauled from Dubuque and when the roads were bad it sometimes took

as many as thirteen ox teams to a load. Emigrants coming through would often help with three yoke of oxen. Everyone helped each other in those days. Swamps and marshes were crossed with great exertion and fatigue; rivers were forded with difficulty and danger; nights were passed on the open prairie with the sod for a couch and the heavens for a roof shelter. Long weary days and weeks of travel were endured, but finally the "Promised Land" was reached.

All told, William Briden's land — prairie and timber — totalled 1440 acres. In later years some of this land was transferred to his sons, Horseman and Henry, in whose names it is shown on the old map of 1875. The Bridens had a fine sugar camp, too, but of that we will speak later.

The settlers on the "Sunny Side" of the Big Woods were a fine, God fearing body of people. Their character was well delineated in the following words by E. J. Messinger, who was one of them over 70 years ago:

> Up to this date we have lived in peace and harmony, without law officers, doctors or preachers. We had now been here five years, living almost as members of one family. To say this was the happiest period of my life will not be stating the thing in too strong terms; every man was treated as a brother whether stranger or friend.

It was natural that such people would early seek church accommodations and privileges. The Methodists predominated and the first sermon preached in that vicinity was by a Methodist minister. The people met in various homes for church services at first and there were services under the trees, too. In the early sixties a church was built just to the east of Section 34 and across the county line in Black Hawk County. This church was known as the East Janesville Church. Janesville, five miles west, had become a church center, having three churches for a population of

three hundred. It soon attracted some of the early settlers from the wooded and prairie districts, among them Wm. Briden. He could not be induced to locate on a village lot after living on a tract of 1440 acres, and he selected 20 acres on the east edge of Janesville where he built a fine country home. The house still stands and is in splendid preservation. It is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Sevison.

Wm. Briden's sons, Horseman and Henry, remained on Section 34 and with their neighbors were ever active in the support of any undertaking for the betterment and comfort of the community, including East Janesville Church. Of the fine families living in that countryside and on the prairie nearby, the writer can best recall the four Briden families, the Stears, Sevisons, Fitches, the David Marquis and John Marquis families, the Garton, Aldrich, Kyler, Thompson, Lawrence, Gibbs, Rich, Jacobs, and Hutton families. Doubtless there were others whom the little boy of those long ago days has forgotten.

The East Janesville Church, while the religious center, became the social center also for many meetings. This was natural, for just across the road, in Garton's Grove, there had been many community meetings. I recall one particularly, a Fourth of July celebration in 1867 when my father, attired in a long linen coat, read the Declaration of Independence.

Lora Thompson was a young woman who lived with her parents on the farm across the road from where my father, mother, and I lived from 1863 to 1868. Lora played the organ at church services in the East Janesville Church and for a term or more taught school in a schoolhouse on the edge of the Big Woods just north of the creek beyond the Henry Briden home, where she boarded while teaching school. She remembers much about the Big Woods and has related many of her pleasant experiences there before

she left the locality forty-five years ago to dwell with me as my wife in several Iowa towns, far from the Big Woods.

There was much visiting among these families and it was counted a great treat by a prairie family to be invited to the home of a Big Woods family, for they usually had food delicacies absent from the table of the prairie dweller, such delicacies as plum butter and preserves made from the wild plums, wild blackberry jam, wild grape sauce, stewed crab-apple, crabapple jelly, and maple syrup. I never expect to taste such delicious dishes again as I have been privileged to partake of in the Briden, Fitch, and Marquis homes of that pioneer period.

There were many delights beside those of the table in those pioneer days, pleasures that may seem simple and tame to the young people of today — sleighrides, spelling schools, church sociables, and parties in the various homes. The homes of Horseman and Henry Briden were often open to such gatherings with a fine hospitality never surpassed. An enjoyable evening was assured if we could go to one of these homes in the winter time for a taffy pull, using pure maple syrup for molasses that after pulling was dropped into the snow to cool. I attended my last taffy pull with Lora Thompson and others at Henry Briden's home on December 31, 1882, driving thirteen miles to and thirteen miles from the Big Woods in a two-horse sleigh with the thermometer at 33 below zero.

The Big Woods, however, are now mostly a memory. As the pine forests of northern Minnesota and Wisconsin disappeared down the "Great River" to the hungry mills along its banks, so the "Big Woods" slipped down the long road to Waterloo, the shorter road to Cedar Falls, and just across the road to Waverly. On many winter days, for many winters, the creaking wagons crunched through the snow or the sinuously gliding bobsleds bore countless cords

of wood cut from those grand old trees to these towns, chiefly for fuel, although much hard wood lumber was cut also. Precious black walnut trees were cut into fence materials and firewood.

Saw mills were started on the edge of the Big Woods as early as 1853 and twenty-two years later five steam saw mills were engaged in sawing logs from the Big Woods. Some idea of the value of the timber for lumber may be had when account is taken of the magnitude of the task of setting up a steam saw mill in the "Woods". The following description may be quoted:

> A. T. Martin about 1855 located at what is now Tripoli. There he erected the first saw mill hauling the boiler and engine from Dubuque with ox teams over trails without bridges or defined "roads".
>
> In 1857, Wm. Stephenson erected a steam saw mill north of Waverly. Not satisfied with the location he decided to move to the other side of the river (the Red Cedar). Moving a boiler was no small job at any time and 1858 was the "Wet Year". The river was bank full from early Spring till Fall. The water from the river backed up in the slough where the mill stood and rose till it was up to and over the bed plate of the engine. Then Stephenson drained the boiler, sealed all its openings, calked them tightly and tipped the boiler into the water. It floated (even as an iron steamship floats). He towed it 1½ miles down and across the river, set it up and in 1875 it was in good working condition still.

A visitor to this region today would have difficulty in visualizing the Big Woods from the few remaining groves of hard wood, native trees and the fields dotted with decaying tree stumps. But for those who saw them in their original growth and splendor, the Big Woods remain a picture of beauty unsurpassed by any other Iowa landscape and in the memory of their beauty there is woven the story of the pioneers who settled there.

INDIANS OF THE BIG WOODS

When Charles McCafferee arrived on the "Sunny Side" of the Big Woods in 1845 he found Indians in the woods. They were Winnebagoes, a tribe of Siouan stock, who had been brought from Wisconsin to a narrow strip of land, designated as the Neutral Ground. It was a strip of territory between two other Indian tribes, the Sioux on the northwest and the Sacs and Foxes on the southeast.

At the time of McCafferee's arrival there were probably some 300 Winnebagoes in the "Woods". These Indians were led by three chiefs, one of whom, Winneshiek, was famous enough to have an Iowa county named for him. The other two were Big Wave and Wananokaker (sounds like Wanamaker, big White Chief). This tribe remained in the Big Woods three years after McCafferee came but in 1848 they were officially transferred to a reservation 150 miles north of St. Paul, Minnesota.

It is a well known fact, however, that often when an Indian tribe was transferred from its native range to a reservation, some of the individuals would return to the land of their birth. The Big Woods Indians were no exception to this urge and probably some of them came back. These returning Indians were those, of course, in whom a love for their old home was very strong and in after years they were inclined to hang on, come what might.

There were other tribes of Indians in Iowa at this time, particularly a group of Fox, or Meskwaki Indians, who lived along the Iowa River fifty-five miles south of the Big Woods. There was also a small tribe or part of one that dwelt along the Black Hawk Creek on the west limits of Waterloo, twelve miles from the Big Woods. There were doubtless other Indians dwelling to the north but whether these visited the Big Woods occasionally I do not know but I know that those to the south did.

The Meskwakis would leave their reservation at Tama to hunt or trap along the streams. Thirty years ago I used to see some of them camped along the Skunk River north of Colfax forty miles in an airline from their reservation.

The continual migration of the Indians to and from the Big Woods is thus explained to me. I saw many of these migrations, though but a small part of the whole number. In a single day I have seen as many as sixty Indians go by our cabin on the prairie toward the Big Woods. There were Indians in the Big Woods continuously for many years after the exodus in 1848, and they camped there for months at a time until in the seventies.

Probably the most of this migration occurred in the late fifties and during the sixties. The reason for all this travelling back and forth was not altogether due to the fact that the Indian was a natural rover, but rather because the condition that caused him to be a rover was fast tending toward its climax and bringing him to the "End of the Trail".

Life in the Big Woods before the white men came to its borders must have been ideal from the viewpoint of an Indian. There were deer in the forest in plenty; wild turkeys nested and thrived there; great numbers of prairie chickens lived in the tall grass on the adjacent prairies; wild fowl covered the surface of the Red Cedar that flowed through its borders; and the waters of the river teemed with fish; the otter, mink, and beaver darted through the sedges and afforded a goodly harvest of furs, the Indians' currency of trade; wild honey oozed from many bee trees; and in the openings large numbers of wild plum trees grew, wild blackberry bushes were plentiful, and the wild crab-apple grew almost everywhere.

Imagine that spring day on which McCafferee with his ox teams slowly wound his way around treacherous sloughs and struggled through the creek fords as he pushed on to

the great body of trees to the northwest. He reached it at last, the famous Section 34, that Wm. Briden was to reach nine years later and my father nine years after Mr. Briden. All day an Indian youth, mounted on a pony, had flanked McCafferee, the boy and his pony almost hidden by the tall grass that was described as being "so tall that it was higher, in places, than a man on a horse". When McCafferee reached the edge of the Big Woods he unyoked his oxen and picketed them out for the night. It was then that the Indian boy hurried to his camp back in the timber on the banks of the creek, known in after years as Baskin's Run, that wound its way through the woods. There he hurried to pour out his astonishing story that the "Chemokemon" had come, at last, and was now on the edge of the forest with his "tepee that walked".

The head men of the band had heard tales of the white men, the older ones could recall their coming into Wisconsin. They were hunters who killed much game, more than they required; they were tree choppers who cut away the timber to make "heap big tepee" and pulled the big tree boles away; they burnt the grass off the prairie and ripped it all up; then on the shores of the Great River they had dug great holes in the ground and taken out much "bullet rock" (lead). The Indians had been told that maybe, some day, "Chemokemons" would come to the Big Woods too, chase all the game away, cut down the big trees, and rip up the prairie that was now the home of the red deer and the prairie hen.

But spring after spring had come. The plover and curlew whirled and banked in aerial flight along the creeks; the sand cranes uttered their weird cries at eventide; great flocks of wild fowl darkened the skies; the wild deer darted through the forest; the beaver built and rebuilt their dams; countless flowers decked the prairie with incomparable

beauty; the woods were ladened with the burgeoning foliage of springtime; and the air was rich with the exquisite odor of the flowering basswood, surpassing in fragrance the famed orange blossoms of semi-tropic climes.

And so the "Chemokemons" had come, had they?

Well they would see. Maybe this was the only one who would come and one, no matter how different from them, could not do much damage. Alas for the Indians, many white men came after McCafferee, for before the last Indian had left the Woods, some twenty-five years after McCafferee's arrival, there were 13,000 Chemokemons in Bremer County.

The Big Woods and the game vanished steadily. Henry Briden recalls a winter prior to 1860 when the snow was so deep in the woods that the deer could scarcely move about and because of this extremity they were the easy prey of the white hunters who practically exterminated the fine herd that had lived in the Woods. The wild turkeys disappeared, too, as many glittering axes cut great gashes in the forest. The turkeys were followed by the beaver and other smaller fur bearing animals.

Thus gradually and very surely the Indian's shelter was impaired and his sustenance destroyed. But he stayed on in the only home he knew, less able each year to accommodate himself to such a fast changing world for him and, strangest of all to him, while he found it harder each year to get a living his white neighbors were finding it easier. "How come"?

The poor Indian never found the answer. Each year his condition became worse as shortage of food and disease took its toll. During those years the contacts the Indians made with the settlers shaped the opinions that the latter formed of the red man. The Indian was actually a child of nature, no matter how old he was. He was curious, in-

quisitive, and unhampered by any of the conventions that bind white men, and he would enter your premises uninvited and when in extremity would beg for anything he desired and found it difficult to meet denial. Once denied he would return again and again after the desired article.

This was sometimes true even of a white baby, for the Indians were fond of little children. In one of the chronicles of eighty years ago there is this statement: "It was with difficulty that E. J. Messinger and the family could persuade the Indians from keeping their son Zach. T. Messinger as their own. The Indians would get him sometimes and take him off with them."

Probably it was the knowledge of other incidents like this that made my mother so frightened whenever she spied Indians coming, and induced her to fly with her little boy to the nearest neighbor.

On one occasion a large number of Indians came around our house and stables near where my father and a neighbor, who could speak the Indians' language, were standing. I don't know how it happened, but all at once I was grabbed and lifted to a pony's back in front of a squaw who dashed off across the prairie toward the Big Woods. The shrieks of my mother and the vehement protests of my father when translated, added to the advice of our interpreter, caused a whistle to be blown and the squaw brought me back. Our neighbor, John Marquis, in explaining the action of the Indians, said that they were only playing a practical joke on a tenderfoot (my father). It would have been no joke in a moment more, for my father reached for his rifle and something serious might have happened. It was no joke to my mother, either, for she was sure that they would have stolen me if they had thought they could have done so.

One day I ran into the house and told my mother the Indians were coming. She did not have time to run to the

neighbor's before the nearest mounted Indian could overtake her so we put our dog outside, barricaded the door, covered the windows, and waited. The Indians pounded on the door, rattled the windows, and yelled that they wanted to come in. They knew we were inside because of the action of our dog who growled furiously whenever they approached the house. He had sense in not attacking so many. Had there been but one or two I believe he would have tried to drive them away. Mr. Marquis, who lived only half a mile away, saw the Indians milling around our cabin, mounted a horse, and started for our home. The Indians saw him coming and at once left us and started to meet him. He turned around and all the Indians followed him home. About a half an hour after we noticed that Mr. Heiser, a lame German settler who lived about a mile south of us, was coming along the trail, carrying a small halter in his hand. When he came to our house he asked my mother in his delightful German brogue, "Didt you seen any Inyuns yet?" My mother said, "Yes, they are all down around the Marquis home now." Then Mr. Heiser said: "Goot I now goes yet and get mine colt. Dem dirty shtealing Inyuns take mine colt when I not see dem do it and after already I tells dem, no dey shouldnt haf der colt."

After a while he came back, limping pulling the colt along after him. "Dem Inyuns dey tell Shon [John Marquis] dey buys dese colt. Shon he says what and how did you pay for dese colt and they shust laugh and say dey goin to pay me some day. Shon he tells me take my colt and go home and dont trade any mit de inyuns, you should watch em."

Other whites who had no individual contacts with these Indians were suspicious of them because of the Spirit Lake Massacre in 1857. But John Marquis, Henry Lampe, and others assured them and us that the Big Woods Indians

were peaceful Foxes and not like the warlike Sioux. Besides they had no leaders like the despicable character, Inkpaduta, the Sioux chief responsible for the Spirit Lake outrage.

All in all the Big Woods Indians made a better exit than many whites would have made under equal handicaps. The pathos of their departure covers up many of their delinquencies and no doubt there are pleasant incidents concerning this race, in the memory of persons now living that will yet be written. The Indians left no trace that they ever lived in the Big Woods save in the memory of the settlers that lived there when they did.

Sometimes now as I look out of the windows of a fine train speeding through the Tama Indian Reservation and notice a few Indians in the woods near the tracks I wonder whether they are really descendants of the Indians who passed our cabin door, or have the Big Woods Indians all vanished at the "End of the Trail"? If so, may their present "happy hunting grounds" be as pleasant as were those in the Big Woods long, long ago.

MAPLE SUGAR MAKING IN THE BIG WOODS

To those in the "Promised Land", maple syrup was an ever present table spread for pancakes and bread. It decked the table at every meal and was often an ingredient of cooked food. Although it was an article of commerce of a sort, storekeepers of that day would not exchange other sugar for it, pound for pound, and other goods reluctantly, if at all. This condition was one of the reasons for cutting down the sugar maples: they were worth more in the market for wood than they were for maple syrup.

Maple sugar making, however, was an annual event for the Big Woods settlers. It was the source of many of the delicacies of their tables. Making sugar was a duty, a part

of the farm operation, and, in some instances, a commercial undertaking also. There was pleasure and art in it as well as toil. During the winter the trees to be tapped were located and a fireplace was made for holding the boiling pans. This was located as near as possible to the center of the area of tapped trees. Sap troughs to be set under the maple trees were also cut out in the winter. Taps of hollow wood were fashioned out of alder, pokeberry, or other pithy growths. These taps were inserted into holes bored in the sugar maple tree. The taps were cut away on the top to permit the sap to trickle in and out and drop down in the chopped-out trough.

As soon as the sap started to run in the early spring, there was great and continuous activity about the sugar camp. All other operations were subordinated as much as possible, in order to give attention to the sugar making. Overtime was not thought of except to get more than a day out of each twenty-four hours. For should the weather become warm enough to swell and start the leaf buds, the sap would stop running. Therefore as soon as the sap started the trees were tapped, log troughs were set under the taps, and wood was laid for a fire under the wide shallow pans. Then a steady old horse was hitched to a stone-boat upon which was placed a scoured wash tub or a wash boiler. With this the trip was made from tree to tree and the sap was poured out or dipped out of the trough into the tub. Then the full tubs were taken to the large open pans where the sap was boiled until the proper consistency for maple syrup or sugar was attained, the latter operation requiring more care and skill. This process was known as "sugaring off".

The syrup was tested by dropping some into clear snow from time to time. When it was decided that it was ready to be removed from the pans, it was first run into a re-

ceptacle. It was then strained through muslin cloth and whites of eggs were stirred into the strained syrup, and the clear amber-hued nectar was then bottled or sealed in stone jars for future use.

There was a difference in the amount of sap produced by trees; some bore more sap than others of apparently the same size. There was a difference also in the sugar content of the sap and there was a difference in the seasons, too.

A season was said to be a good sugar season when the sap ran steadily and long and when the winter snowfall in the woods was not too heavy. It was also considered fortunate if a light or "sugar" snow fell during sap boiling just often enough to regulate the sap flow and make the stoneboat slip easily. A hard-dragging boat would start suddenly and stop suddenly causing the load of sap to splash or tip over. And sap was precious and very good to drink as the youngsters found who tagged the old stoneboat through the woods just to get a drink of sap now and then. It was interesting at the sap boiling place, too, but if one stayed there too long he or she might have to carry wood for the fire or run on an errand somewhere, and then the smoke got in your eyes. It was more fun to follow the stoneboat around; sometimes one had a ride on it, and also received a drink out of its precious load.

Many sugar camps were operated in the Big Woods from the fifties to the present time. As we have pointed out, some were operated for private use only, the excess product of other camps was sold, and some were operated principally for commercial purposes.

No known definite record exists of the number of sugar maple trees that were tapped in the Big Woods during a season. Fairly reliable estimates have been made, based on individual experiences, observations, and records of

camps operating there to-day. Only a few weeks ago the writer talked with Henry Briden, of Janesville, now ninety year old. Mr. Briden told me of his sugar trees but said that his brother, Horseman, had more and some seasons tapped four hundred trees.

Ed. L. Jennings, of Cedar Falls, Iowa, with whom I talked on January 4th of this year, told of his father's maple sugar trees. Samuel Jennings located in the Big Woods in Jackson Township, Bremer County, two miles east and half a mile north of Janesville, in 1851. The old map shows that his homestead consisted of 240 acres and that he had 50 acres more in the heart of the Big Woods. The Jennings family has made maple syrup since Ed. L. Jennings can remember and each season now he makes it. His sugar camp, or bush as it is sometimes called, is located northeast of Janesville and consists of 1500 trees. Last year he tapped 600 trees that yielded 200 gallons of maple syrup of 32° gravity sugar test. Mr. Jennings explained that this production was not an average yield, for 1929 was not a good sugar season, since spring advanced too rapidly for sugar making, the sap flowing but a short time.

He states that there are one or more other camps now in the region once known as the Big Woods and I believe it is safe to say that there were at least twenty camps making sugar at one time when most of the sugar trees were tapped. What a yield of sap has flowed from these trees in the past eighty years, hundreds of thousands of gallons in the aggregate. It takes fifty gallons of sap to make a gallon of syrup and a gallon of syrup will make six pounds of sugar. From all this accumulated evidence we can conservatively estimate that the Big Woods has yielded the equivalent of some fifty tons of delicious maple sugar.

Chas. E. Hall

Omaha Nebraska

SOME PUBLICATIONS

John Brown at Lake Placid, by Millicent B. Rex, is one of the articles of interest to Iowans which appears in the April issue of *Americana.*

C. I. Winslow is the author of a monograph on *State Legislative Committees,* published recently as one of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.*

Pennsylvania as an Early Distributing Center of Population, by Wayland Fuller Dunaway, is one of the articles in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April.

The Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior has issued a *Bibliography of Indian and Pioneer Stories for Young Folks.* It is designated as *Library Bulletin,* No. 13, for 1931.

Illinois, Crossroads of the Continent, by Junius B. Wood, is one of the articles in *The National Geographic Magazine* for May. Included is a brief account of *Chicago, Titan of the Middle West,* by Clifton Adams.

A Bibliography of the History of Agriculture in the United States, by Everett E. Edwards, has been recently published by the United States Department of Agriculture as *Miscellaneous Publication,* No. 84. Pages 118 to 121 contain a list of publications relating to Iowa history. This compilation was awarded the Eunice Rockwood Oberly Memorial Prize for the biennial.

The American Historical Review for April, 1931, contains an account of the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association, and two articles: *Making the Revolutionary Calendar,* by George Gordon Andrews; and *The Famine Immigration to Canada, 1847,* by Gilbert Tucker. Under the heading *Notes and Suggestions,* J. B. Hubbell contributes a discussion of Lincoln's first inaugural address, and Thomas A. Bailey presents *The United States and*

Hawaii During the Spanish-American War. The contribution under *Documents* is *Lafayette as Commercial Expert,* by Louis R. Gottschalk.

The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1929 contains *Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837-1849,* edited by Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks. The only letter from Iowa included is from Laurel Summers, written from Parkhurst, Scott County, Iowa, on October 21, 1848. It reads as follows:

"Dear Sir Although a citizen of a remote corner of the Union and an entire stranger to you, I nevertheless have taken great pains to study and understand your views upon the various constitutional questions that are now, and have been for some time agitating the public mind, some of which are shaking our glorious Union to its very centre.

I am what we here call a democrat, and of course believe in a strict construction of the Constitution, and nowhere can I find in that time honored instrument any power delegated to the General Government to Charter a Bank, to Legislate upon the subject of Internal Improvements, either *general* or *special*; to pass what is called a *protective* tariff act, or Legislate upon the institution of Slavery. This latter question, as you are aware, is now exciting the public mind more than all others, and unquestionably the most dangerous to the safety of the Union of these States. To my mind, a question more foreign to legitimate Legislation by the *General* government, has never been sought out by the fruitful brains of political demagogues.

I have viewed your course with greater care from the fact, that you seem to form your opinions independent of that blind devotion to men that actuates and seem to be the ruling passion of too many of our public men. Upon many questions of public policy advocated by you I have been compelled to differ with you; but generally upon great constitutional questions your views to my mind are sound. Well, my object in writing to you at this time is to make the inquiry, What power has the general government to *compromise* the subject of Slavery? I hold that it is *not* a question

upon which Congress can constitutionally Legislate. I believe that you hold to the same doctrine. My opinion, then is that Congress should not only *frown* down the *Wilmot Proviso,* but the *Missouri Compromise* line also, for if they have power to pass the one they have power to pass the other also.

Should you find time and feel so disposed I should be pleased to hear from you in answer to the above inquiry at your earliest convenience. You may rest assured that the democrats of Iowa are sound to the *core* on this subject. The Whigs are for Gen. Taylor *and the Wilmot Proviso.* What inconsistency!''

WESTERN AMERICANA

Francis Parkman, by Louise Rau, appears in the supplement to the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for May, 1931.

The spring number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains a list of the historical markers and memorials in the State of Michigan.

The First Hundred Years, by James A. James, a brief historical sketch of Chicago, was printed in the issue of *Commerce* for April 18, 1931.

Our Pioneer Historical Societies, by Evarts B. Greene, has been published as Number 2 of Volume X of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications.*

The fourth installment of *The Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786-1836,* by Edward Park Anderson, is one of the articles in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for April.

Up and Down the Chippewa River, by R. K. Boyd; *Yankee-Teuton Rivalry in Wisconsin Politics of the Seventies,* by Herman J. Deutsch; and *Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford* are the three contributions in *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March.

Marquette Memorials, by Mary Colombière Arth; *Pottinger's Creek Settlement — Kentucky, 1785,* by Henry S. Spalding; and *Old Vincennes: a Chapter in the Ecclesiastical History of the West,*

by Gilbert J. Garraghan, are three of the articles printed in *Mid-America* for April.

The March number of *Minnesota History* contains the following papers and articles: *The Persistence of Populism,* by John D. Hicks; *The Minnesota Historical Society in 1930,* by Solon J. Buck; *The 1931 Annual Meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society; Minnesota as Seen by Travelers,* edited by Bertha L. Heilbron; and *A "Haunted Windmill",* by Mrs. Paul J. Leach.

Articles in the January issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* include the following: *Buckeye Station, Built by Nathaniel Massie in 1797,* by Morten Carlisle; *Holmes County Rebellion — Fort Fizzle,* by J. R. Vance; *Geology as a Factor in Human Life and Character,* by Gerard Fowke; *The McNeely Normal School and Hopedale Normal College,* by R. H. Eckelberry; and *Ohio, the Gateway of the West,* by Carrie B. Zimmerman.

Kin Hubbard (the creator of "Abe Martin"), by J. Harley Nichols; *Indiana and Her History,* by James Albert Woodburn; *A History of the Indiana State Board of Education,* by Linnaeus N. Hines; and *Harrison's Councils with Tecumseh,* by Rose Schultheis, are the articles and papers in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History.*

Suggestions on Technique in Archaeology, by Alonzo W. Pond; *Old Beach Camp Sites in Winnebago County,* by George Overton; *A MacGregor Bay Cemetery,* by George R. Fox; *Firesteels,* by Charles E. Brown; *Red Metal,* by James K. Jamison; and *Preservation of the Old Indian Agency House* are some of the articles in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for January.

The Oregon Missions as Shown in the Walker Letters, 1839-1851, edited by Paul C. Phillips and W. S. Lewis, *Fort Russell and Fort Laramie Peace Commission in 1867,* edited by Wilson O. Clough, and *The Diary of Mary Richardson Walker, June 10-December 21, 1838,* edited by Rufus A. Coleman, make up numbers 13, 14, and 15 of *Sources of Northwest History,* edited by Paul C. Phillips. These are published by the University of Montana.

Among the papers and articles in the *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,* Volume XXI, are the following: *The Ancestry of President Harding,* by Clara Gardiner Miller; *The Catlin Powder Horn; Indian Loving Catlin,* by Marion Annette Evans; *Bibliography of Catlin's Works,* by William Harvey Miner; and *Early American Snobs,* by Dixon Ryan Fox.

France and the Mississippi Valley: A Résumé, by Louise Phelps Kellogg; *John McLean, Postmaster-General,* by Francis P. Weisenburger; *The Origin of a National Reclamation Policy,* by John T. Ganoe; and *Edward Channing,* by Ralph Ray Fahrney, are the articles and papers in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June. Under *Notes and Documents* Geraldine Hopkins contributes *"A Rare Abolitionist Document".*

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for April, 1931, contains a number of papers and addresses, among which are the following: *Our State and Country,* by Ross F. Lockridge; *The Service of the State Library,* by Louis J. Bailey; *A Hoosier Hostelry a Hundred Years Ago,* by Kenneth Loucks; *Dramatic Elements in La Salle's Career,* by Genevieve Hopkins; *Some Methods and Objectives for the General Course in American History,* by A. W. Crandall; and *Our Great War Governor* (Oliver P. Morton), by William Dudley Foulke.

The Missouri Historical Review for April includes the following articles and papers: *History of the Missouri County Court,* by William L. Bradshaw; a continuation of *Joseph Pulitzer,* by George S. Johns; *Ghost Towns and Centenarian Communities of Central Missouri,* by Walter Ridgway; part two of *John Evans, Explorer and Surveyor,* edited by A. P. Nasatir; a third installment of *The St. Louis School of Thought,* by Cleon Norbes; and a continuation of *Experiences of Lewis Bissell Dougherty on the Oregon Trail,* edited by Ethel Massie Withers.

Newspapers and Periodicals in the Lincoln-Douglas Country, 1831-1832, by Frank J. Heinl; *Address at the Dedication Ceremonies of the Monument Erected by Illinois to Stephen A. Douglas,*

at Winchester, Illinois, July 5, 1930, by Cornelius J. Doyle; *The Life and Works of James Gardiner Edwards,* by Philip D. Jordan; *An Episode of Journalism in 1840,* by John Richard Weber; and *Dedication of the Memorial to James Butler Hickok, "Wild Bill",* by Wallace Rice, are articles and papers in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1930.

The *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for 1930 contains a number of articles and papers, among which are the following: *The Make-Up of the Early Republican Party,* by James Lee Sellers; *A History of the Chicago Delegation in Congress, 1843-1925,* by Lewis Ethan Ellis; *John McLean and the County that Bears his Name,* by Florence Fifer Bohrer; *Judge David Davis, 1815-1886,* by Harry Edward Pratt; *Chicago Under the French Regime,* by Gilbert J. Garraghan; *Warsaw and Fort Edwards on the Mississippi,* by Ruth Cory Aleshire; *Russel Farnham, Astorian,* by Frank Edwin Brandt; and the *Diary of William H. H. Ibbetson, Chesterfield, Illinois.*

IOWANA

David Bremner Henderson, by Earl B. Detzell, is one of the historical articles in the *Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M.,* for May.

Cherokee Hospital for the Insane, by Geo. Donohoe, and *Early History of Fort Madison,* by W. L. Wallace, are two of the articles in the May number of *Midland Schools.*

A Brief History and a Souvenir of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Delaware, Iowa, Prepared for the Fiftieth Anniversary of Its Existence, by Wm. S. Schreiber, has been printed in pamphlet form.

The April number of the *Monthly Letter to Animal Husbandmen,* issued by Armour's Livestock Bureau, contains a brief history of the development of the meat packing industry in Iowa.

The World Was His Field, a sketch of the life of Louis H. Pammel of Ames, by Virgil Hawk, is one of the articles in *The Iowa*

Agriculturist for April. In the June issue Russell Nolte contributes *A Hundred Years of Harvesting.*

The Lincoln Mass of American People, by Edgar R. Harlan; a continuation of *Abandoned Towns, Villages and Post Offices of Iowa,* by David C. Mott; and *Pioneer Lawmakers Association,* also by David C. Mott, are the three articles in the *Annals of Iowa* for April.

Memories of Fourscore Years, the privately printed memoirs of Charles August Ficke, is to be reprinted in the Sunday editions of the *Davenport Democrat,* beginning with the issue of May 31, 1931. The book contains a valuable account of Davenport and Scott County since 1850.

The April number of *Grinnell and You* is devoted largely to tributes to the former president of Grinnell, John H. T. Main, who died at Grinnell on April 1, 1931. President Main was born at Toledo, Ohio, on April 2, 1859, and came to Grinnell in 1892, as Professor of Greek. He has been President of Grinnell College since 1906.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Aitken, Walter W.,
Birds That Have Vanished (The Palimpsest, April, 1931).

Aldrich, Bess Streeter,
The Month's Best Books (Christian Herald, June, 1931).

Aumann, Francis R.,
The Course of Judicial Review in the State of Ohio (The American Political Science Review, May, 1931).

Austin, Anne,
Murder at Bridge. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1931.
Murder Backstairs. New York : Grosset & Dunlap. 1930.

Ballinger, Harvey Leigh,
The Validation of the Iowa Elementary Language Tests

(University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. VI, No. 3), Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Becker, Carl Lotus,

Modern History; the Rise of a Democratic, Scientific and Industrialized Civilization. Newark, N. J. : Silver, Burdett & Company. 1931.

Beer, Thomas,

Modesty (The Saturday Evening Post, January 10, 1931).

Victorian Blush (The Saturday Evening Post, February 14, 1931).

Bergeson, B. J.,

Rambles 'Round the Range. Sioux City, Iowa : Mid-West Live Stock Commission Company. 1931.

Betts, George Herbert, (Joint author)

Habits for Health. Indianapolis : The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1931.

Living at Our Best. Indianapolis : The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1931.

Branch, E. Douglas,

Quick-Lunch (poem) (The Midland, June, 1931).

Brooke, Dwight, (Joint author)

Decree in Probate Proceedings Determining Heirs, Distributees and Distribution (Iowa Law Review, February, 1931).

Brown, Charles Reynolds,

My Own Yesterday. New York : The Century Co. 1931.

Buchanan, Fannie,

Magic Music. Des Moines : Wallace Publishing Company. 1931.

Butler, Ellis Parker,

First Aid (Christian Herald, June, 1931).

Graft Elimination (The Saturday Evening Post, February 7, 1931).

Carver, Thomas Nixon,

Prohibition and Your Pocketbook (Christian Herald, June, 1931).

Coates, Grace Stone,

Black Cherries. New York : Alfred A. Knopf. 1931.

Colegrove, Kenneth W.,

The German-Polish Rye Agreement (Reprinted from The Journal of Political Economy, April, 1931).

International Control of Aviation. Boston : World Peace Foundation. 1931.

The Treaty Making Power in Japan (Reprinted from the American Journal of International Law, April, 1931).

Cook, Elizabeth,

From a Middle-Western Window (Delineator, February, 1931).

Cook, Louis H.,

Brookhart, Insurgent (North American, February, 1931).

Crawford, Nelson Antrim,

Unhappy Wind. New York : Coward-McCann. 1931.

Cray, Glenn F.,

"Stock Without Par Value and the Iowa Statute" (Iowa State Bar Association Quarterly, March, 1931).

Crowell, Grace Noll,

Daily Living (poem) (Good Housekeeping, March, 1931).

Pilgrim Prays (poem) (The Literary Digest, February 14, 1931).

Regret (poem) (Good Housekeeping, February, 1931).

Davidson, G. B.,

Life, Service and Cost of Service of Farm Machinery (Iowa State College Engineering Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 92). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1931.

Dickman, Adolphe-Jacques,
Le Temps est un songe et la Nouvelle Héloïse (Philological Quarterly, April, 1931).

Dondore, Dorothy A.,
Big Talk: the Flyting, the Gabe, and the Frontier Boast (American Speech, October, 1930).

Duncan, Thomas W.,
Death of a Champion (The Midland, May, 1931).

Dutton, Charles J.,
Murder in a Library. New York : Dodd, Mead and Company. 1931.

Engle, Paul,
Girl of Wind (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.
No Stranger Place (poem) (The Saturday Review of Literature, March 28, 1931).
Steps in the Snow (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.
Turret Lathe (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Felton, O. J.,
Pioneer Life in Jones County (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, April, 1931).

Fenstermacher, Kathryn,
The Offer (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Ficke, Arthur Davison,
Emblems of Spring (poem) (Harper's Monthly Magazine, March, 1931).

Field, Mildred Fowler,
Face of Silence (poem) (The Midland, June, 1931).

Finger, Charles Joseph,

Adventure Under Sapphire Skies. New York : William Morrow and Company. 1931.

Foster, William S.,

Faculty Members Supervise State Industrial Survey (The Iowa Engineer, April, 1931).

Gard, Wayne,

Injunction Process in Labor Disputes (Current History, March, 1931).

Gates, Robert,

Blind (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Our Trade (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.) New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

The Shop and the Grave (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.) New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Gethman, Helen,

The Misters Smith (The Midland, May, 1931).

Giese, Henry,

Prevention of Wind and Fire Losses to Farm Buildings (Iowa State College Agricultural Experiment Station Circular, No. 127). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1931.

Gillin, John Lewis,

Taming the Criminal; Adventures in Penology. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1931.

Glaspell, Susan,

Alison's House (play). New York : Samuel French. 1930.

Ambrose Holt and Family. New York : Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1931.

Gode, Marguerite,

Children's Pleasure Chest (Better Homes and Gardens, March, 1931).

What! Gypsies in Gardenland? (Better Homes and Gardens, May, 1931).

Gordon, Ronald,

Four Lines on a Proud Girl (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Grahame, Pauline,

La Follette Wins (The Palimpsest, May, 1931).

Hackett, Alice Payne,

New Haunts for the Tourist (Publishers' Weekly, January 31, 1931).

Haefner, Marie,

An American Lady (The Palimpsest, May, 1931).

Hall, James Norman,

Death on the Atoll (The Atlantic Monthly, March, 1931).

Harlan, Edgar R.,

The Lincoln Mass of American People (Annals of Iowa, April, 1931).

Hart, Hornell Norris,

As a Social Scientist Sees It (Christian Century, January 21, 1931).

Hearst, James,

Country Men (poem) (The Midland, May, 1931).

Herrick, Gertrude,

Waiting for Company (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Hilliard, George H., (Joint author)

Effect of Specific Drill on Reading Ability (The Elementary School Journal, February, 1931).

Hise, George E.,

Ownership and Sovereignty of the Air or Air Space Above Landowner's Premises with Special Reference to Aviation (Iowa Law Review, February, 1931).

Holbrook, Christine,

What It Costs To Furnish a Home on the Budget Plan (Better Homes and Gardens, March, 1931).

Holmes, Marjorie,

Acrobat (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Horack, Frank E., Jr.,

Vicarious Liability for Fraud and Deceit in Iowa (Iowa Law Review, April, 1931).

Horn, Ernest,

Difficulties in Spelling (The Elementary School Journal, February, 1931).

Hueston, Ethel Powelson, (Mrs. E. J. Best)

Rowena Rides the Rumble. Indianapolis : The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1931.

Hughes, Rupert,

George Washington's Letters on Love (Ladies' Home Journal, February, 1931).

Jones, Dorsey D.,

Edwin Chadwick and the Early Public Health Movement in England (University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IX, No. 3) Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Kresensky, Raymond,

Dear Jesus, Be Our Guest (Christian Century, January 28, 1931).

God Immediate (poem) (Christian Century, February 25, 1931).

Ladd, H. S., (Joint author)

Pacific Island Sediments (University of Iowa Studies in Nat-

ural History, Vol. XIII, No. 2). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Ladd, Mason, (Joint author)
Decree in Probate Proceedings Determining Heirs, Distributees and Distribution (Iowa Law Review, February, 1931).

Lechlitner, Ruth,
Dirge for Civilization (The Forum, March, 1931).

Lees, James,
Lees' Guide to the Game of Draughts. Philadelphia : David McKay. 1931.

Lindsey, Arthur Ward,
The Problems of Evolution. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1931.

Macbride, Thomas Huston,
Minerva's Temple (Bulletin of the State University of Iowa, New Series, No. 572). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1930.

McFee, Mrs. Inez Nellie Canfield,
Forest Friends in Fur. Chicago : A. Flanagan Company. 1930.
The World About Us; the Boys' and Girls' Book of Familiar Things. Philadelphia : Macrae-Smith Company. 1931.

McMahon, H. R.,
Proposed Davenport Dam Has Many Unique Features (The Iowa Engineer, May, 1931).

McNeely, Marion Hurd,
Seven Sisters (St. Nicholas, March, 1931).

McNeely, Sylvia,
Diry of Sylvia McNeely. New York : Longmans, Green and Co. 1931.

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On Edgar Allan Poe (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931*

(Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

May, Earl Chapin,

Modern Wonders of Ancient Manchuria (Travel, February, 1931).

Merriam, Charles E.,

Administrative Reorganization in German City Government (Public Management, April, 1931).

New Aspects of Politics (Second edition). Chicago : University of Chicago Press. 1931.

Merriam, John C.,

The Place of Research in the Progress of the Next Generation (Trends in Graduate Work, in the University of Iowa Studies, Series on Aims and Progress of Research, No. 33). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

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God's Finger-Prints in the Universe (The Literary Digest, January 24, 1931).

Monger, Miriam,

A Midland Saga. Philadelphia : Dorrance and Company. 1931.

Morrow, Honoré Willsie,

Tiger! Tiger! New York : William Morrow and Company. 1931.

Mott, David C.,

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Mullett, Mary B.,

College President Who Quit School at Thirteen (The American Mercury, February, 1931).

Nasatir, Abraham P.,

The Anglo-Spanish Frontier on the Upper Mississippi 1786-

1796 (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, April, 1931).

Nelson, Charles Brown,
Hired Hand (poem) (The Midland, May, 1931).

Newkirk, Louis Vest,
Validating and Testing Home Mechanics Content (University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. VI, No. 4). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Parish, John Carl,
Reflections on the Nature of the Westward Movement (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, 1930).

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Is Honesty Possible in Marriage (Pictorial Review, February, 1931).

Pellett, Frank Chapman,
Farming Trees (Nature Magazine, March, 1931).

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Proposed Jury Changes in Criminal Cases (Iowa Law Review, February, 1931).

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Piper, Edwin Ford,
Pilgrimage (poem) (The Midland, March-April, 1931).

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Detroit Biographies: William Dummer Powell (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, March, 1931).

Reuter, Edward Byron,
Race Mixture: Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation. New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1931.

Reuter, Edward Byron, (Joint author)
The Family. New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1931.

Richardson, Anna Steese,
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Roberts, George E.,
Gold In Relation to Prices (The Review of Reviews, May, 1931).
The Gold Situation. New York : The National City Bank of New York. 1931.
Our Interdependent Social Life (The New York Times, April 17, 1931).
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Schmidt, G. Perle,
Old Flower Gardens (The Palimpsest, May, 1931).

Schramm, Wilbur Lang,
War Skies (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Seashore, Carl E.,
The Graduate College in The State University of Iowa: A Review and Forecast (Trends in Graduate Work, in University of Iowa Studies, Series on Aims and Progress of Research, No. 33). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

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Fox-hunting Virginian, George Washington (Golden Book, February, 1931).

Shorey, Paul,
Reluctant Reviewers (Saturday Review of Literature, February 21, 1931).

Shultz, Gladys Denny,
Don't Blame the Teacher if Johnny Has to Stay After School (Better Homes and Gardens, February, 1931).

Peter Begins the Journey (Better Homes and Gardens, June, 1931).

What the P. T. A. Can Do (Better Homes and Gardens, March, 1931).

Shultz, Victor,

Goth and Visigoth (The Midland, June, 1931).

Smith, Kathryn Maxwell,

The Moon (poem) in *Best College Verse: 1931* (Jessie Rehder, ed.). New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Taeusch, Carl F.,

Policy and Ethics in Business. New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1931.

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Erik Kjyten (The Palimpsest, April, 1931).

Tompkins, Raymond S.,

Hash-house Visionaries (The American Mercury, March, 1931).

Treynor, Albert M.,

Flaming Sands, New York : Grosset & Dunlap. 1930.

Tyler, Alice Sarah,

Rural Adult Education and the County Library (Libraries, February, 1931).

Wentworth, Chester Keeler,

Twist in the Grain of Coniferous Trees (Science, February 13, 1931).

Wentworth, Chester Keeler, (Joint author)

Pacific Island Sediments (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XIII, No. 2). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Wherry, Elizabeth C.,

Garden of Dainty Priscilla (poem) (Better Homes and Gardens, February, 1931).

Wilson, Margaret, (Mrs. G. D. Turner)
The Crime of Punishment. New York : Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1931.

Wyer, Malcolm Glenn,
Eugene Field Branch Library (The Library Journal, February 1, 1931).

Wylie, Charles Clayton,
Calendar Improvement Without Legislation. Iowa City, Iowa : Published by the author. 1931.
Largest Meteorite Seen to Fall (Scientific American, March, 1931).
Twelve or Thirteen (Journal of Calendar Reform, June, 1931).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

In defence of Indians, by Robert W. F. Schmidt, in the *Miami* (Florida) *Daily News,* February 23, and the *Waterloo Daily Courier,* March 13, 1931.

Historic site located near Lockridge on Skunk River, in the *Des Moines Register,* March 1, 1931.

Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, by Walter A. Blair, in the *Davenport Democrat,* March 1, 22, 1931.

Sketch of the life of James E. Bruce, in the *Anita Tribune,* March 5, 1931.

Masonic lodges hold unique historic installations, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk,* March 5, 1931.

Mrs. G. N. McPherrin recalls early days in Adams County, in the *Adams County* (Corning) *Free Press,* March 5, 1931.

Wild life once abundant in Clinton County, in the *Clinton Herald,* March 5, 1931.

Steamboat engine furnished power for Barber Creek Mill near Parkhurst, in the *Clinton Herald,* March 5, 1931.

Pioneer days in Jewell, in the *Jewell Record,* March 5, 1931.

William Fisher was early Black Hawk County pioneer, in the *Cedar Falls Record,* March 6, 1931.

The Iowa picnic in Los Angeles, by Stanley Miller, in the *Washington Journal,* March 7, 1931.

Old Fort Snelling, in *Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead,* March 7, 1931.

Sketch of the life of James D. Smyth, in the *Burlington Hawkeye,* March 8, 1931, and the *Wapello Republican,* March 12, 1931.

Ottawa once lively town in Clarke County, in the *Osceola Sentinel,* March 12, 1931.

Lutheran Aid Society at Randall established in 1869, in the *Story County* (Story City) *Herald,* March 12, 1931.

Charles Reuben Keyes tells of Pottawattamie Indian chief, in the *Mount Vernon Hawkeye Record,* March 12, 1931.

First brick courthouse in Iowa was built at Wapello, in the *Wapello Republican,* March 12, 1931.

Joseph Garret was pioneer Delaware County miller, in the *Hopkinton Leader,* March 12, 1931.

Editors gained enemies for supporting prohibition, in the *Clarksville Star,* March 12, 1931.

Prominent pioneers of Hardin County, in the *Hardin County* (Iowa Falls) *Citizen,* March 12, 1931.

Mrs. Luella W. McKenzie has large collection of antiques, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* March 14, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Jane F. Cavanaugh, in the *Oelwein Register,* March 14, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Judge Charles E. Ransier, in the *Waterloo Courier,* March 17, and the *Independence Bulletin-Journal,* March 19, 1931.

Eldredge Wheeler recalls early days in Bloomfield, in the *Davis County* (Bloomfield) *Republican,* March 17, 1931.

Sketch of the life of F. L. Stempson, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* March 18, 1931.

Eldora newspapers have interesting history, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* March 19, 1931.

Burlington once had one hundred and ten saloons, in the *Burlington Hawkeye,* March 19, 1931.

Early days in Butler County, in the *Clarksville Star,* March 19, 1931.

Mrs. Hester A. Barker came to Warren County in 1848, in the *Indianola Tribune,* March 24, 1931.

C. B. Hutchins tells of early floods in Kossuth County, in the *Whittemore Champion,* March 25, 1931.

Corn meal soup was diet for early Iowans, in the *Stratford Courier,* March 26, 1931.

The incorporation of Story City, in the *Story County* (Story City) *Herald,* March 26, 1931.

History of the *Union Star,* in the *Union Star,* March 26, 1931.

Paternal discipline was strict in pioneer days, in the *Winterset Madisonian,* March 26, 1931.

Socialist colony established at Communia in 1846, in the *Clayton County* (Elkader) *Register,* March 26, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Herbert C. Dean, in the *Estherville News,* and the *Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle,* March 27, 1931.

Grocery stores once sold liquor in Iowa City, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* March 28, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Clayton B. Hutchins, in the *Upper Des Moines* (Algona) *Republican,* April 2, 1931.

W. H. H. Barker tells of the beginnings of Oskaloosa, in the *Knoxville Express,* April 2, 1931.

Sketch of the life of J. H. T. Main, in the *Grinnell Herald,* April 3, 1931.

Early days in Wright County, by Mrs. Rose Garth, in the *Humboldt Republican,* April 3, 1931.

Pioneer memories of Crawford County, by C. N. Waldemer, in the *Kiron News,* April 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, May 7, 1931.

First Swedish Baptist Church in America built at Four Corners, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* April 4, May 12, 1931.

Lincoln's grandchildren romped in Harlan home, in the *Davenport Democrat,* April 5, and the *Mount Pleasant Free Press,* May 28, 1931.

Iowa was not the home of the buffalo, by G. W. Shockley, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* April 6, and the *Knoxville Express,* April 9, 1931.

Anton J. Cermak once lived in St. Ansgar, in the *Northwood Anchor,* April 9, 1931.

Early history of Nassau-Gibson, by Leonard Murdock, in the *What Cheer Patriot,* April 9, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Edwin L. Sabin, in the *Clinton Herald,* April 9, 1931.

Sketch of the life of John J. Seerley, in the *Burlington Hawkeye,* April 12, 1931.

James D. Edmundson was born in Iowa in 1838, by F. C. Stanley, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* April 13, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Scott M. Ladd, in the *Des Moines Register,* April 15, 1931.

Pre-historic teeth found on Jensen farm in Adams County, in the *Adams County* (Corning) *Free Press,* April 16, 1931.

Early days in Jones County, in the *Anamosa Journal,* April 16, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Martin J. Wade, in the *Des Moines Register* and the *Davenport Times,* April 17, 1931.

O. A. Ellison came to western Iowa by ox team, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* April 19, 1931.

Curiosity show at Olin in 1882, in the *Olin "C" Press,* April 23, 1931.

First national hobo convention met at Britt, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* April 25, 1931.

Allison of Iowa, by Anthony F. Klinkner, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* April 26, 1931.

Early days in Cedar Falls, in the *Cedar Falls Record,* April 27, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Walter H. Butler, in the *West Union Argo Gazette,* April 29, 1931.

Currier and Ives began business in 1850, by Elmo Scott Watson, in the *Clarence Sun,* April 30, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Joe R. Lane, in the *Davenport Democrat,* May 1, 1931.

Isaac Lesh came to Hardin County in 1850, in the *Traer Clipper,* May 1, 1931.

Iowans hold high offices in California, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle,* May 1, 1931.

Monument to Mrs. Juno H. Lott, first white woman settler in Webster County, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle,* May 2, and the *Whittemore Champion,* May 6, 1931.

Early settlers in Cass County, in the *Atlantic News-Telegraph,* May 2, 1931.

Woodbine Normal School built in 1887, in the *Woodbine Twiner,* May 6, 1931.

Mrs. S. R. Sipma drove wagon team across Iowa, in the *Remsen Bell,* May 7, 1931.

Algona Baptist Church organized seventy years ago, in the *Emmetsburg Democrat,* May 7, 1931.

Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Gilson married in Knoxville seventy-five years ago, in the *Knoxville Express,* May 7, 1931.

Early days in Carroll County, in the *Coon Rapids Enterprise,* May 8, 1931.

David Hiatt lived in Fremont County seventy-nine years, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* May 10, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. William Larrabee, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 10, and the *Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle,* May 16, 1931.

Reminiscenses of David Barton Sears, by J. William Lester, in the *Davenport Democrat,* May 10, 1931.

Presbyterian church organized in Sioux City in 1857, in the *Sioux City Journal,* May 10, 1931.

Sketch of the career of William Foster Muse, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* May 11, 13, 1931.

Sketch of the life of W. S. Criswell, in the *Des Moines Tribune,* May 11, and the *Boone News-Republican,* May 15, 1931.

Six killed in explosion at Coralville in 1875, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* May 11, 1931.

Indian mounds unearthed in vicinity of Bellevue-Green Island, in the *Davenport Times,* May 12, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Emmet Tinley, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* May 12, 13, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mosher A. Harding, in the *Denison Review,* May 13, 1931.

Black Hawk Bridge at Lansing was designed by Thomas H. Bakewell, in the *Britt Tribune,* May 13, 1931.

Forgotten towns in Webster County, by J. T. Gleason, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger and Chronicle,* May 14, 1931.

Beginnings in Wayland, Iowa, in the *Wayland News,* May 14, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Na-Ka-Pah, by George Young Bear, in the *Toledo Chronicle,* May 14, 1931.

Montour was once named Butlerville, in the *Tama News-Herald,* May 14, 1931.

Charles M. Lockwood, survivor of Last Man's Club, founded Hawkeye, Iowa, in the *Hawkeye Beacon,* May 14, 1931.

A. B. Shaw edited Corning paper fifty years ago, in the *Adams County* (Corning) *Free Press,* May 14, 1931.

History of Lisbon, by Mable H. Kynett, in the *Mount Vernon Hawkeye Record,* May 14, 1931.

Pioneers suffered many hardships, in the *Coon Rapids Enterprise,* May 15, 1931.

E. W. Hall owns map of Iowa printed at Dubuque in 1851, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* May 16, 1931.

Indian trails and camps in Washington County, in the *Washington Journal,* May 16, 1931.

Washington once had college, by Everstine Daniels, in the *Washington Journal,* May 16, 1931.

Grade students win prizes on local history in Wapello County, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* May 16, 1931.

Honey Creek Society of Friends was first religious unit in Hardin County, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* May 16, and the *Radcliffe Signal,* May 21, 1931.

Luther College was first Norwegian school of higher learning in the United States, by C. N. Evanson, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 17, 1931.

H. A. Hough tells of Indian raids in the sixties, in the *Denison Bulletin,* May 20, 1931.

Memorial shaft at Eldora was erected in 1886, in *Hardin County* (Eldora) *Ledger,* May 21, 1931.

J. H. Horner tells of wagon train from Corydon to Oregon in 1862, in the *Corydon Republican,* May 21, 1931.

Sketch of the life of J. C. Tuck, in the *Bedford Times-Republican,* May 21, 1931.

Railroad reached Boone County in 1865, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Madrid Register-News,* May 21, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Henry O. Pratt, pioneer pastor, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 22, 1931.

James McDonald tells of pioneer days in Woodbury County, in the *Sioux City Journal,* May 22, 1931.

E. G. Diller of Eldora has early map of Iowa, in the *Reinbeck Courier,* May 22, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Major C. B. Lohmiller, in the *Davenport Democrat,* May 24, 1931.

Davenport in 1836, by G. C. R. Mitchell, in the *Davenport Democrat,* May 24, 1931.

Early days in Muscatine, in the *Muscatine Free Press,* May 25, 1931.

Development of telephone in Muscatine, by W. A. Matthews, in the *Muscatine Journal,* May 25, 1931.

Prehistoric residents knew surgery, by O. J. Pruitt, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune,* May 25, 1931.

Pioneer days in Lowell, by W. A. Griffith, in the *Mount Pleasant News,* May 26, and the *Mount Pleasant Free Press,* May 28, 1931.

J. W. Swinburne finds old map of Delaware County, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 26, 1931.

Roger W. Toll inspects McGregor region for projected national park, in the *Lansing Journal,* May 27, 1931.

Indian skeletons found near Rippey, in the *Dallas County* (Adel) *News,* May 27, 1931.

Walter C. Smith was first graduate of Western College, in the *Waterloo Courier,* May 28, 1931.

John Burke, United States Treasurer, spent boyhood in Sigourney, in the *Keokuk County* (Sigourney) *News,* May 28, 1931.

Many post offices in Louisa County have closed, in the *Columbus Gazette,* May 28, 1931.

Sketch of the life of George W. Beaubien, in the *Monticello Express,* May 28, 1931.

Stories of Iowa pioneer teachers, in the *Montezuma Republican,* May 28, 1931.

Early schools in Montour, in the *Toledo Chronicle,* May 28, 1931.

History of Lowell Mills, in the *New London Journal,* May 28, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Edwin Anderson, in the *Graettinger Times,* May 28, 1931.

John M. Lindly completes family history, in the *Winfield Beacon,* May 28, 1931.

Mrs. Martha Underwood recalls old times in Princeton, in the *Clinton Herald,* May 29, 1931.

C. B. Knowles owns copper kettle of Sioux City's first white settler, in the *Sioux City Journal,* May 31, 1931.

Orson G. Reeve was early settler in Franklin County, in the *Waterloo Courier,* May 31, 1931.

May Fairbanks was Cornell librarian for thirty-eight years, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 31, 1931.

Sketch of the life of D. D. Murphy, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* May 31, 1931.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Texas State Historical Association held its thirty-fourth annual meeting at Austin on April 20, 21, 1931.

The annual dinner of the Missouri Historical Society commemorating the Louisiana Purchase was held at the Hotel Jefferson, St. Louis, Missouri, on April 30, 1931. Louis La Beaume gave an illustrated address on "Historic St. Louis and Its Early Buildings".

John Carl Parish, formerly Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa, delivered the annual faculty research lecture at the University of California at Los Angeles on May 6, 1931. His subject was "The Emergence of the Idea of Manifest Destiny".

The Twelfth Annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 11-13, 1930. It was sponsored by the Indiana Historical Society and the Society of Indiana Pioneers, with special emphasis on the centennial of the Historical Society. The program included an address on "Indiana and Her History", by James A. Woodburn and one by Evarts B. Green on "Our Pioneer Historical Societies". Evans Woolen of Indianapolis was elected president of the Indiana Historical Society, and Christopher B. Coleman of Indianapolis, secretary.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, who has been superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society since 1914, has resigned to accept the position of director of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey and head of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota and assistant superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society since 1922, has been appointed superintendent to succeed Dr. Buck.

The annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and His-

torical Society was held at Columbus on March 26, 1931. The name of the society was changed to the shorter title, The Ohio State Historical Society. On April 30th the Ohio State Historical Society and the Ohio History Conference held a joint meeting at Columbus. The program included an address by Hamlin Garland on "The Westward March of Settlement" and a paper by Asa E. Martin on "Research in State History : Its Problems and Opportunities". The Ohio State Historical Society has recently come into possession of the manuscript copy of the Journal of the Northwest Territory.

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held at Springfield, on May 7 and 8, 1931. The program included the following papers and addresses: "Early Music and Musicians in Illinois", by W. D. Armstrong; "Greene Vardiman Black, 1836-1915", by Bessie M. Black; "An Outline of the History of Architecture in Illinois", by Thomas E. O'Donnell; "Illinois and the Gold-Silver Controversy, 1890-1896", by James A. Barnes; "Leaders in American Immigration", by Theodore C. Blegen; and "John W. Vance and the Vermilion Salines", by Clint Clay Tilton.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Lexington, Kentucky, on April 30, May 1, 2, 1931. The program included the following papers and addresses: "The Silver Republicans in the Election of 1895", by Elmer Ellis; "The Anglo-American Penetration into Spanish Louisiana", by Lawrence Kinnaird; "Missouri Kansas Border Compromise during the Civil War", by C. J. Ritchey; "France and the Mississippi Valley : A Resumé", by Louise Phelps Kellogg; and "The Maysville Road", by Charles M. Knapp. The program included trips to Harrodsburg and Shakertown. Beverly W. Bond, Jr., was elected president of the Association and Mrs. Clarence S. Paine was reëlected secretary-treasurer.

IOWA

A large number of historical relics have been placed on display in the Storm Lake Public Library.

The Woodbury County Pioneer Club celebrated its fifth anniversary at a dinner at Sioux City on June 4, 1931.

A. S. Crosby of Homer has a history of the Mt. Zion Sabbath school from its organization on April 14, 1867, to July, 1878.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of Howard County was held on March 9, 1931. Mrs. Alma Glass was elected president; J. H. Howe, vice president; C. J. Harlan, secretary; William Kellow, treasurer; and Mrs. C. E. Farnsworth, curator.

The Webster County Historical Museum was opened in the Public Library building at Fort Dodge on May 15, 1931. The museum was organized and sponsored by the Business and Professional Women's Club of Fort Dodge. Miss Maude Lauderdale has been named curator of the museum.

The Crawford County Historical Society is preparing glass cabinets for the courthouse at Denison in which to place relics concerning the county's history. Many valuable articles have been placed in the log cabin in Washington park.

The Iowa Swedish Baptist Conference dedicated a three-ton boulder and bronze tablet at New Sweden near Lockridge, Iowa, on May 17, 1931. It was erected in memory of the 77th anniversary of the building of the first Swedish Baptist church in the United States.

Frank G. Pierce was reëlected president of the Marshall County Historical Society at a meeting held in the historical room of the courthouse on March 10, 1931. Other officers include Albert Beane, vice president; Susie Sower, secretary; Minnie J. Pendleton, treasurer; and Ella Mace, curator.

The Columbian Club held its annual Iowa history meeting at the home of Mrs. Lula Sweet in Cherokee. Mrs. F. W. Jackson presided and Mrs. W. A. Sanford gave an appreciative review of Richman's *Ioway to Iowa*. N. L. Stiles, local archeologist, told of the geology and Indian history of northwest Iowa.

A historical pageant, depicting the development of agricultural

machinery from the primitive to modern stages, is being planned in conjunction with the twenty-fifth annual convention of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers to be held at Ames from June 22 to 25, 1931.

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Madison County Historical Society was held in the courthouse at Winterset on March 3, 1931. H. A. Mueller presided over the meeting and was elected president. Other officers chosen were W. S. Cooper, vice president; E. R. Zeller, secretary; and Mrs. John McNamara, treasurer.

The Martha Washington Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Sioux City sponsored a series of radio broadcasts from Station KSCJ, Sioux City, during Iowa History Week from April 20-25, 1931. The subjects were as follows: "The Old Missouri River Trail", "Floyd's Bluff", "It Happened at Travercur's", "The First White Children", "Inkpaduta Goes Bad", and "The Gray Stone by the Correctionville Road".

According to a new law which goes into effect on July 4, 1931, Iowa history is included in the required course of study for elementary school work. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Miss Agnes Samuelson, has sent out a list of references on Iowa history books suitable for the grades, and suggests that schools may prefer to give a block of time to this subject in one grade, possibly the sixth, instead of scattering it throughout the course.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

During the 1930-1931 academic year the State Historical Society of Iowa sponsored a series of weekly radio talks given over Station WSUI. Dr. William J. Petersen was in charge of the series, the general theme of which was "Stories Out of Iowa's Past".

A study collection of archeological material has recently been installed in the rooms of the State Historical Society. This material illustrates the various pre-historic cultures of Iowa and has been collected by Dr. Charles Reuben Keyes, who for several years has been acting as director of the archeological survey of Iowa conducted under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

On March 16, 1931, Dr. William J. Petersen, Research Associate on the staff of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave an illustrated lecture on "Early Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi" before the Engineers Club of Iowa City. On March 30, 1931, he gave an illustrated talk on steamboating at the noon luncheon of the Clinton Rotary Club and repeated the lecture before the students of Wartburg College that afternoon. Captain Daniel Smith Harris was the topic of an address before the West Liberty Rotary Club on April 9, 1931. On April 23rd, Dr. Petersen gave an address on "Centennials in Iowa History" before a joint meeting of the Appanoose County Historical Society, Kiwanis Club, and Chamber of Commerce, at Centerville.

A Republican ticket used in Center Township, Cedar County, in the election of 1860 has been donated to the Library of the State Historical Society by Judge John T. Moffit of Tipton. The ticket was part of the collection of Mrs. Fred Hecht, who was born in February, 1840, and is still living. This old ticket is very different from a modern election ballot. In the first place, the party ballots were separate and there are no squares or circles. Apparently the voter simply deposited whichever ticket he preferred. If he did not desire to vote for some one on the ticket he "scratched" out the name and he might also write in a name. Indeed he might write out the whole ticket. The list of State officers does not include the Governor and Lieutenant Governor, for there were annual elections and these two officers were elected in the odd-numbered years. So were all the county officers except the clerk of the district court. Members of the board of supervisors were elected on the township ticket, which had more candidates than any other group.

Mr. F. C. Russell of Lamoni, Iowa, has presented to the State Historical Society of Iowa an eight-page booklet entitled *Constitution and By Laws of the Grand River Vigilance Committee Instituted, April 29th, A. D. 1876.* It was printed at Leon, Iowa. This Association was formed, the preamble said, "to shield us from the depredation of thieves and robbers, counterfeiters, incendiaries

and all other criminal acts, and to afford mutual aid in reclaiming stolen property, and arresting thieves''. Any person wishing to join must first give his or her name to a member and pay a fee of fifty cents. The candidate was then voted on secretly by the company and three black balls would keep a candidate out. Male members were required to attend the regular meetings on pain of a fine of fifty cents for each absence. Upon notification by the president or the standing committee every able-bodied male member was to assist in the recovery of property stolen from any member of the Association and in the pursuit and arrest of the thieves. Failure to obey such a summons entailed a fine of from one to five dollars. The business was secret and a pass word and countersign were to be given by the president. Article 14 reads as follows: ''Any member suspected of playing cards for money or gambling, or giving aid or countenance to persons engaged in stealing and robbing, shall be duly examined, and if found guilty shall be expelled, and at every annual meeting the character of every member shall be examined.''

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Dr. Geo. C. Albright, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. H. W. Baker, Wapello, Iowa; Mr. O. J. Baldwin, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. W. C. Barnard, Seneca, Missouri; Mr. E. Maxwell Benton, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. F. W. Berninghausen, Nashua, Iowa; Miss Anne Bormann, Dubuque, Iowa; Miss Helen Brown, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Lora D. Brown, Grundy Center, Iowa; Mr. Ellworth Carlstedt, Estherville, Iowa; Mrs. Estelle Land Cobb, Wollaston, Mass.; Miss Mildred Colby, Davenport, Iowa; Dr. J. V. Conzett, Dubuque, Iowa; Miss Lois Marie Crane, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Mary Frances Cromwell, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mrs. L. H. Davis, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. R. S. Dorward, Turin, Iowa; Mr. W. E. Drips, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. A. A. Emigh, Atlantic, Iowa; Mr. H. C. Evans, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. E. J. Feuling, New Hampton, Iowa; Miss Florence Forbes, Ames, Iowa; Mrs. Henry Frankel, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Laura Geller, Tipton, Iowa; Dr. G. H. Gillette, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. Harry D. Green, West Branch, Iowa; Mr. R. A. Griffin, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. H. L. Griffith, Elkader, Iowa;

Mr. R. B. Hawkins, Leon, Iowa; Mr. Wm. Hayes, Harlan, Iowa; Mr. Robert R. Hibbs, Marengo, Iowa; Miss Mattie Iversen, Prescott, Iowa; Mr. Ernest W. Kinne, Ft. Atkinson, Iowa; Mr. Floyd L. Leslie, McClelland, Iowa; Mr. John Lund, Jr., Grinnell, Iowa; Miss Anna Lynam, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. C. B. McClelland, Des Moines, Iowa; Rev. Richard E. McEvoy, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Frank A. Mallett, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Herman W. Merrill, Ottumwa, Iowa; Miss Elizabeth Mohler, Marshalltown, Iowa; Mr. F. M. Morrison, Washington, Iowa; Mrs. E. J. Newel, Davenport, Iowa; Miss Stella Peper, Lake View, Iowa; Mr. Geo. V. Pew, Le Mars, Iowa; Mr. Chas. F. Pye, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Cale H. Ransom, Rippey, Iowa; Miss Clara A. Rasmussen, Ruthven, Iowa; Miss Mary J. Robers, Fort Madison, Iowa; Dr. F. E. Robinson, Ames, Iowa; Mr. Lewis W. Ross, Oakland, Iowa; Miss Helen Sanderson, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Robt. R. Schafer, Fort Madison, Iowa; Mr. Fred J. Seemann, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Lawrence B. Smith, Osage, Iowa; Mr. C. A. Spaulding, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Stacy, Ames, Iowa; Mr. Ivan L. Starke, Muscatine, Iowa; Mr. Robert M. St. Clair, Le Mars, Iowa; Mr. Frank E. Stimson, Monticello, Iowa; Mr. Samuel C. Stoltz, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. R. E. Taylor, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. Richard W. Tims, Tama, Iowa; Miss Lelah Trowbridge, Corydon, Iowa; Miss Margaret Trumpp, Iowa City, Iowa; Rev. F. H. Voelker, Oelwein, Iowa; Dr. R. W. Wood, Newton, Iowa; Dr. F. H. Battey, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Myrtle Beinhauer, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. B. J. Bergeson, Sioux City, Iowa; Miss Catherine Brown, Sioux City, Iowa; Miss Charlotte D. Bryan, Davenport, Iowa; Mrs. Laura E. Cameron, Belmond, Iowa; Mr. C. T. Carney, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. W. P. Crane, Holstein, Iowa; Mr. G. E. Cress, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. J. A. Dunlap, Keokuk, Iowa; Mrs. Elizabeth Fine, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. C. S. George, Grinnell, Iowa; Mrs. D. B. Marlowe, Maquoketa, Iowa; Rev. W. F. Mason, Scranton, Iowa; Mrs. Edith Foley Mavis, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. W. H. Merner, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Mr. Geo. L. Mitchell, Maquoketa, Iowa; Mr. Charles H. Norby, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Sina Olsen, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Miss Evelyn Peterson, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Mary L. Ross, Oakland, Calif.; Mr. Clive

Runnells, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Mrs. Ida K. Soleman, Tama, Iowa; Mr. Thad W. Stevens, Oakland, Calif.; Miss Sarah E. Stout, Tipton, Iowa; Miss Estella Swem, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Miss Jessie M. Vanzee, Tipton, Iowa; Mr. Joseph E. Wintz, Gibson, Iowa; Mrs. S. P. Zwemer, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Orville Elder, Washington, Iowa; Mrs. W. F. Hili, Glenwood, Iowa; Mr. Donald D. Holdoegel, Des Moines, Iowa; Mrs. Oscar B. Lundgren, Burnside, Iowa; Mr. W. R. Maines, Davenport, Iowa; Mr. Ray Murray, Buffalo Center, Iowa; Mr. Harry R. Peterson, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mrs. R. F. Poston, Williamsburg, Iowa; Mr. Gordon Smith, Clarence, Iowa; Mrs. S. C. Snider, West Liberty, Iowa; Mr. E. W. Thornton, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. Farron E. Turner, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Mr. Buel F. Weare, Des Moines, Iowa; and Mr. Roy E. Wells, Des Moines, Iowa.

The following nine resident curators of The State Historical Society of Iowa were chosen at a meeting of the Society held at Iowa City on June 22, 1931: W. L. Bywater, W. O. Coast, Arthur J. Cox, Marvin H. Dey, Charles M. Dutcher, Thomas Farrell, S. A. Swisher, R. H. Volland, and Henry G. Walker.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The third annual meeting of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Iowa was held at Ames on April 17, 1931. Mr. Robert Munro Boyd, Jr., Governor General of the National Society, was one of the speakers. The officers of the Iowa Society elected at the meeting include Mr. Irving H. Hart of Cedar Falls, Governor; Mrs. George L. Owings of Marshalltown, Secretary; Mrs. O. W. Strine of Boone, Treasurer; and Mrs. Charles W. Wester of Cedar Falls, Historian.

A joint meeting of three Iowa associations — the State Association of Economists and Sociologists, the Iowa Historical Association, and the Iowa Political Science Association — was held at Cedar Falls on May 1 and 2, 1931. The officers elected for the ensuing year by the State Association of Economists and Sociologists were as follows: president, L. E. Garwood of Coe College; vice president, J. M. Carlton of Grinnell College; secretary-treasurer, E. M. Burrows of Coe College. The Political Science Association elected C. F. Littell of Cornell College, president; Carl Erbe of Iowa State Teachers College, vice president; and N. W. McGee of the University of Dubuque, secretary-treasurer. Ethel M. Jones of Drake University was named president of the Iowa Historical Association; Irving B. Richman of Muscatine, vice president; and William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society of Iowa, recorder.

Mr. S. A. Burgess, historian of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, at Independence, Missouri, has called the attention of the State Historical Society to a statement on page 364 of Mr. Irving B. Richman's *Ioway to Iowa* which reads: "At Council Bluffs between 1848 and 1852 polygamy, sanctioned by revelation to Joseph Smith, was practiced." The point made by Mr. Burgess relates to the accuracy of the statement that polygamy was sanctioned by revelation through Joseph Smith.

It seems to be generally agreed by writers on the history of the

Latter Day Saints that polygamy was not officially sanctioned by any of the publications of the Church until the promulgation of the doctrine by Brigham Young at Salt Lake City in 1852. It is also rather generally agreed that polygamy was practiced to some extent at Nauvoo and Council Bluffs. There has been, however, disagreement among writers as to the origin of the doctrine and the extent of the practice of polygamy in Illinois and Iowa.

Some writers claim that polygamy was sanctioned by a revelation to Joseph Smith as early as 1843, but was taught to only a few of the followers and was not officially proclaimed until Brigham Young published it in 1852. This is the explanation usually made by the Latter Day Saints in Utah. Other authorities insist that Joseph Smith discountenanced and condemned polygamy at all times, that its practice grew up among individuals contrary to his teachings, and that its introduction as a church doctrine was the work of Brigham Young, who later attempted to show that Joseph Smith approved the doctrine. This is the view held by most of the members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, many of whom now live in Iowa and Missouri.

Mr. Burgess presents the view of those who believe that Joseph Smith did not claim to have a revelation permitting polygamy and did not advocate or condone the practice. His letter includes the following statements which are here quoted with his permission:

"It is certain that the Church did not prior to the assassination of Joseph Smith, Jr., take any action approving or condoning [the practice of polygamy]. If Joseph Smith were in any degree guilty, it is a matter of personal guilt.

"That Joseph Smith, in all of his known writings had most emphatically condemned any form of marital looseness is clear. The official position taken by the church with which he was associated is also clear. It is equally clear that Brigham Young and his associates introduced both the doctrine and practice, and that those so involved in that practice in later years offered testimony seeking to implicate Joseph Smith. This was [done] for very obvious reasons, but those stories when examined do not stand critical analysis.

"The question is one of fact and of course we are always open to any new proof. There does exist evidence according to my present belief that John C. Bennett attempted to introduce for his personal ends some form of a spiritual wife doctrine, and was promptly expelled from the Church. It is possible that in his secret negotiations he tried to shift the responsibility to Joseph Smith, and when expelled made some bitter attacks.

"Also after the death of Joseph Smith, there appears considerable evidence of such looseness developing a year or so later, but not based upon any assumed revelation from Joseph Smith. There is such evidence also as to Council Bluffs, but we do not know of any authentic evidence that it was at that time based upon any authentic revelation to Joseph Smith.

"The argument of Orson Pratt is quite clear that they were in trouble for immorality (see report to congress 1851). It looked as if they were caught, but the constitution guaranteed religious liberty. If it were a matter of religion they would be safe. The process of thought is very clearly developed, and is quite contrary to the ideas that they had been misbehaving under any purported revelation. Much evidence might be brought to bear, though of course the burden of proof is on the accuser.

"I would be pleased to give you a great many references if you wish. The question after all is an open one, a clear question of fact without prejudices. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has never officially taken any position as to Joseph Smith's connection [with] or responsibility for polygamy. Every individual has been left free to form his own opinion. There is no reason therefore for there being any prejudice in argument. The case is bad enough that men of the prominence of Brigham Young and his associates were undoubtedly involved. It is merely a question of fairness to one individual, a question of historical accuracy. As an individual, not in any official capacity, I would challenge as did Heman C. Smith our predecessor and others the assertion that the man Joseph Smith was responsible for that abominable practice and teaching."

MARTIN JOSEPH WADE

Martin J. Wade, Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of Iowa, died in California on April 16, 1931. He was born in Burlington, Vermont, on October 20, 1861, and moved to Iowa at an early age. After attending the common schools and St. Joseph's College at Dubuque, he was graduated from the Law Department of the State University of Iowa in 1886. After admission to the bar Mr. Wade practiced law in Iowa City in the firm of Ranck and Wade from 1886 until 1893, when at the age of thirty-two he was appointed Judge of the Eighth Judicial District of Iowa. He remained on the bench until January, 1903.

From 1891 to 1903 he was Lecturer in the Law Department at the State University, and from 1895 to 1905 he was Professor of Medical Jurisprudence. He was president of the Iowa Bar Association in 1897-1898. In 1902 he was elected to Congress from the Second Congressional District and served until 1905, when he resumed the practice of law in Iowa City in the firm of Wade, Dutcher, and Davis. He was appointed United States District Judge in 1915 and served until the close of his career in 1931.

Judge Wade was the author of a number of books and articles dealing with the Constitution. He was one of the founders of the Iowa Commonwealth Conference, and was widely known for his emphasis on loyalty and patriotism.

CONTRIBUTORS

Jacob A. Swisher, Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa. Born in Illinois in 1884. Received the B. A. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1917, the M. A. degree in 1918, and the Ph. D. degree in 1927. Author of *Leonard Fletcher Parker, The American Legion in Iowa,* several chapters in *Municipal Government and Administration in Iowa,* and numerous articles in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* and *The Palimpsest.*

Hubert H. Hoeltje, Associate in the Department of English, at the State University of Iowa. (See The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for January, 1927, p. 160.)

Charles Ellsworth Hall. Born near Centreville, Michigan, on September 26, 1861. Came to Waterloo, Iowa, with his parents in a covered wagon in 1863. Returned to Michigan in 1872. Graduated from the Centreville, Michigan, High School in 1882 and from the Davenport, Iowa, Business College in 1883. Taught school in Orange Township, Black Hawk County, Iowa, during the winter of 1882-1883, and in Fillmore County, Minnesota, during the winter of 1883-1884. On April 1, 1884, commenced service with the Bell Telephone System at Davenport, Iowa, continuing in this service for more than forty-six years. Has served as a telephone official during this period in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota. Resided in Davenport, Iowa, from 1887 to 1904, in Des Moines, Iowa, from 1904 to 1911, from 1911 to August 1, 1930, in Omaha, Nebraska, and now resides in Los Angeles, California. Has written many historical sketches and given numerous talks concerning the founders and the development of the "Telephone" in the States mentioned.

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IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS
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CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING IN IOWA

When and where the representative system of government originated is not exactly known. Guizot says it "has constantly hovered over Europe, ever since the founding of modern states";[1] other authorities advance the idea that "representation first found its beginning in the Saxon Witenagemot,"[2] or as Montesquieu suggests, "in the forests of Germany".[3] At any rate it is fairly certain that the old Teutonic tribes that overran western Europe during the decline of the Roman Empire planted the seed from which our modern democratic governments sprang.

In the English Colonies in North America, democracy and representative government were early established as a part of the political system. Indeed the life of the pioneers nurtured democracy and independence, while the distances and the difficulties of travel encouraged the delegation of powers to representatives. As a result, the principle of representative government "entered into the constitution as a matter of course, because it was the method by which modern liberty had been steadily growing stronger and broader for six centuries."[4]

Representation may be found in a variety of forms. An arrangement whereby the representative body would be a miniature replica of the electorate would be ideal. In this case the individuals entrusted with legislative duties would clearly reflect the desires and wishes of their constituents.

[1] Guizot's *History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe,* p. 12.

[2] Taft's *Popular Government,* p. 23.

[3] Sterne's *On Representative Government and Personal Representation,* p. 25.

[4] Fast's *Congressional Reapportionment,* p. 1.

Following this theory of representation, then, every element of the population of a State should be adequately represented in the legislature. Perhaps the greatest defect of the representative system in America is the inadequate provision for the representation of the minority. Undoubtedly the will of the majority should weigh more heavily than the desires of the smaller group — but does it follow that the minority should have no representation at all? "Because the majority ought to prevail over the minority, must the majority have all the votes, the minority none?"[5]

The two most obvious reasons for the failure of the minority interests to obtain adequate representation in the United States are the existence of the bi-party system and the election of representatives from single-member districts. The political party developed as an extralegal organization in the field of politics, in order that groups with similar political ideas might secure representation. If enough supporters in a district rally to the standard of a certain group, their choice will receive the election from that district, even though it may be by a majority of only a single vote. For other interests in the district to be actively represented is impossible with such a system — and single member districts still prevail in the United States.

Undoubtedly the desirable results of party existence and growth have more than balanced the evils which have arisen, yet party desires very frequently subordinate the general will of the people and promote undemocratic practices. If partisan advantage can be secured by manipulating the scheme of government, the dominating party will utilize that power. Representative districts will naturally be

[5] Lubbock's *Representation*, p. 3.

formed in the interests of the party in control of the governmental machinery.

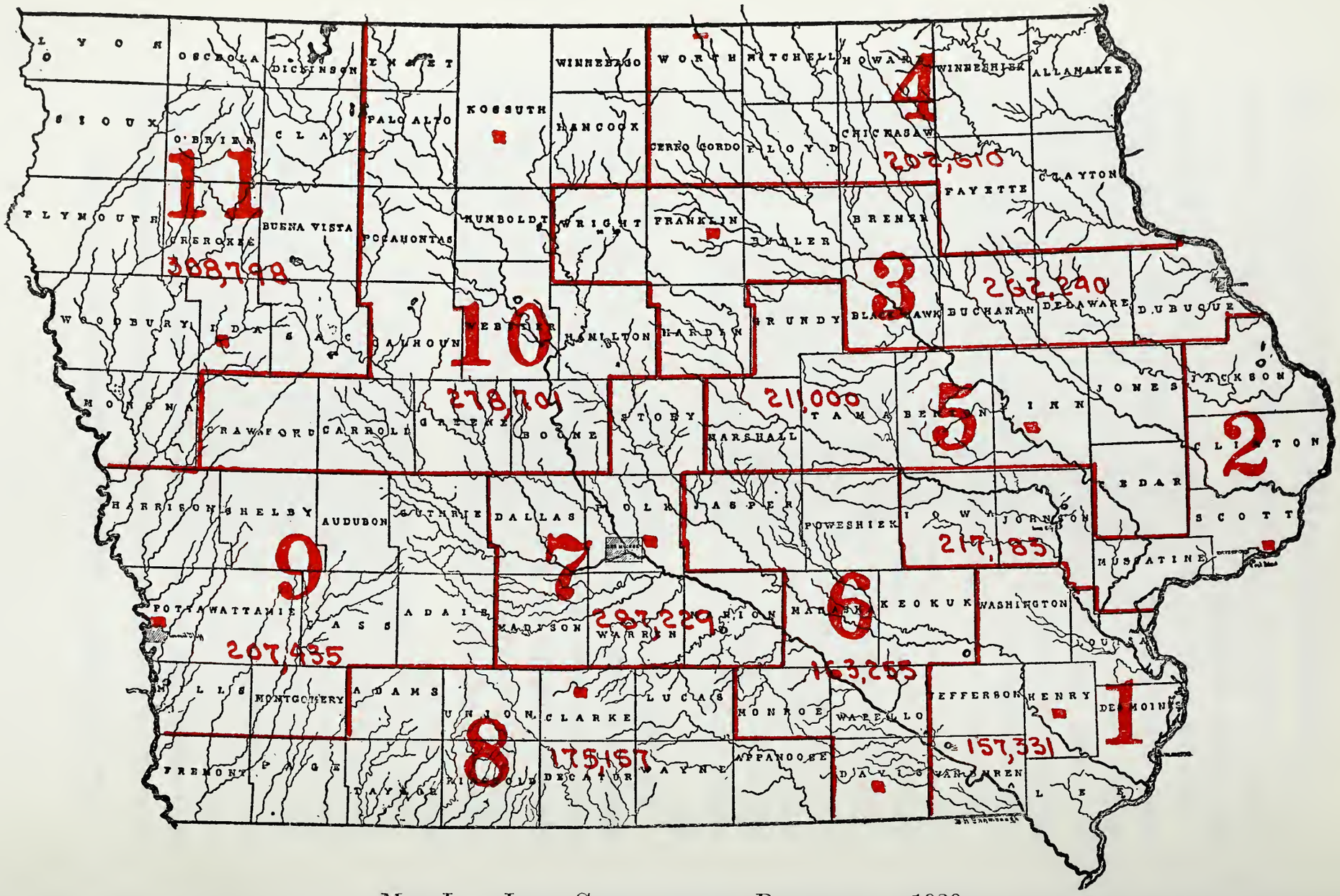
In Iowa, as in practically all the other States of the Union, party interests have played a dominant rôle in the system of government. Minority interests have continually failed to secure just representation. This is made clear by a study of the various laws fixing the congressional districts in this State from 1847 down to and including 1931.

Previous to the redistricting act of 1931, the Iowa legislature had passed some seven acts creating congressional districts. These laws were adopted in 1847, 1848, 1857, 1862, 1872, 1882, and 1886. An account of the provisions in these acts and their political significance, written by Paul S. Pierce, was published in Volume I of *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in 1903. This article includes maps showing the districts as established by each law.[6]

The last of these redistricting acts, prior to the one adopted in 1931, was passed on April 10, 1886. Iowa was then entitled to eleven Representatives in the House of Representatives at Washington and the State was, consequently, divided into eleven congressional districts. A glance at Map No. 1 on page 464, shows the boundaries of these districts.

The act of 1886 probably represents the most obvious disregard of the principles of democracy in the history of Iowa representation. By the switching of a few boundaries, the Republican party gained five congressional districts and the Democrats were left in control of but one. The unfairness of the bill aroused opposition on every hand, and since 1886 numerous measures have been introduced into the legislature for the reorganization of these con-

[6] The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. I, pp. 334-362.



MAP I — IOWA CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN 1930
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1930)

gressional districts; "but all have come to nought."[7] By 1930, the need for congressional redistricting in Iowa from the standpoint of population was also obvious. According to the census of 1930 the number of people in the Iowa districts varied from 157,000 in the first to 308,000 in the eleventh. The rapid growth of the western part of the State and a decrease in population in the southeastern section had brought about this inequality.

PERMANENT REAPPORTIONMENT

Following the usual decennial custom, Congress passed a reapportionment measure after the census of 1900, and again in 1911, so that the number of Representatives in the House gradually rose to 435.[8] Neither of these bills affected the status of the Iowa delegation, for population was increasing steadily and Iowa managed to retain eleven seats. In 1920, however, contrary to precedent, Congress failed to provide for a new apportionment. The leader in the conservative policy suggested that the census of 1920 was unfair as a great number of war veterans were unsettled, because the condition of the country in general was disturbed, and because a temporary trek to the city would tend to leave the rural sections unfairly represented.[9] There was no lack of interest in the problem, however, for in the seven years after the submission of the 1920 census figures, over 40 reapportionment measures found their way into the Federal House and Senate. None, however, received the necessary vote to become a law, and newspapers everywhere pointed to Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution which provides for the reapportionment of the House members following each decennial census. *The Literary Digest*

[7] The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. I, p. 354.

[8] *Congressional Digest*, February, 1929.

[9] Tow's *A Permanent System of Reapportionment*, p. 34.

asked, "What's the Constitution among friends? — when some members are in danger of losing $10,000 seats."[10] Iowa happened to be one of the heaviest losers, and the Iowa delegation was not anxious to reduce the State's representation by the loss of two members.

By the time the Seventieth Congress convened, public sentiment had become so aroused that action was inevitable. Representative R. G. Fitzgerald of Ohio arose in the House on December 3, 1928, and said: "I protest the transaction of business by this House on the grounds that it is illegally constituted."[11] In the same session C. J. McLeod of Michigan announced that if "a date for action was not set within six days his bloc would launch a filibuster against all legislation."[12] Such action proved unnecessary, however, for on January 4, 1929, the House Committee on Census reported favorably on the Fenn Bill, which provided for automatic reapportionment by the Commerce Department.[13] Representative John Q. Tilson of Connecticut said he would "put the bill on the legislative calendar for January tenth and ask for a special rule for its consideration".

On January 11th the bill was brought up for discussion and roundly opposed by Representative C. W. Ramseyer of Iowa, a majority member of the Committee on Rules. His remarks indicted the measure vigorously as a "proposition to enact a law requiring somebody else to do in January, 1931, what will be the plain duty of the Senate and House to do. . . . You cannot defend this proposition on any grounds except that you are in favor of increasing bureaucracy to let the Secretary of Commerce or somebody else do it. You have lost faith in the intelligence, patriotism

[10] *The Literary Digest,* Vol. LXXXIX, p. 12.

[11] Fast's *Congressional Reapportionment,* p. 103.

[12] Fast's *Congressional Reapportionment,* p. 104.

[13] *The United States Daily,* January 5, 1929.

and courage of members of Congress. I feel, and I know in other States similar to my own State, that the members are ready when the time comes to apportion''.[14] However, on January 11, the Fenn Bill passed the House after a motion to recommit had been defeated by a vote of 226 to 134.[15] The Senate, to complicate matters, failed to give the measure a place on its legislative program, but Senator A. H. Vandenberg assured the House leaders it would be considered ''when other measures on the docket were disposed of.'' On April 15th, the Senate drafted a new bill, following closely the provisions of the Fenn Bill and on May 29th with a vote of 57 to 26, the act providing for the 1930 census and for automatic reapportionment passed the upper house.[16]

In the lower house the dissension continued, and on June 5th, Representative Lloyd Thurston of Iowa introduced an amendment to exclude aliens from the count for representation in Congress. This arrangement would have decreased Iowa's representation to ten seats instead of nine, but the suggestion met defeat in the form of a motion by John Q. Tilson of Connecticut. On June 6th, the House passed the Senate bill by a vote of 272 to 105,[17] and twelve days later President Hoover gave his approval to the act that was to decrease Iowa's representation in Congress to nine seats.

The main purpose of the bill was to provide for the reapportionment of the seats of the lower house based on the 1930 Federal census returns.[18] The number of Congressmen remained at 435, and this fact in the light of the

[14] *The United States Daily,* January 11, 1929.

[15] *The United States Daily,* January 12, 1929.

[16] *The United States Daily,* May 31, 1929.

[17] *The United States Daily,* June 7, 1929.

[18] The full text of the bill may be found in the *United States Code Pamphlet Supplement Unannotated,* 1929, No. 3.

census returns entitled Iowa to only nine members in the House beginning with the year 1932. For the first time it was necessary to reduce the number of congressional districts in Iowa. To separate the State into nine districts and to provide for equal representation for the people of Iowa was a problem perplexing hundreds of politicians, legislators, and Iowans whose interests were at stake.

PLANS FOR REDISTRICTING IOWA IN 1931

When the Forty-fourth General Assembly of Iowa convened at Des Moines on January 12, 1931, redistricting was by no means the least difficult problem to be solved. If only population were involved, it would have been easy, but "when it comes to tearing one county, set for fifty years in its political relationship with its neighbors, away from one district and put it into another, there appears a horse of a different breed."[19] Besides, there was the task of satisfying the larger counties.

It was generally conceded that redistricting would be a Republican affair. Although the Democrats polled 207,658 votes out of a total of 535,476 cast by the two major parties in the election of the eleven Iowa Congressmen in 1930,[20] the Republicans controlled both the upper and lower houses in the State legislature, and could easily muster enough votes to pass any measure they desired — provided, of course, that they agreed among themselves.

The first indication as to the character of the new redistricting measure came with the formation of the House Committee on Judicial and Political Districts, early in January. Two members were selected from each of the Iowa congressional districts, and in making up the com-

[19] *The Des Moines Register,* June 8, 1929.

[20] Congressional election returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of the State at Des Moines.

mittee not a Democratic member was included.[21] Following the usual custom, the committee was placed in charge of all bills pertaining to redistricting. Incidentally it took care that only the most favored plans were submitted for the approval of the House. Certainly Republican interests were foremost, and it remained for time alone to indicate just what advantage the party would take of its controlling power in the State legislature.

By March 4, 1931, Congress had adjourned without altering the provisions of the Fenn Law, and the Iowa redistricting problem had assumed a definite place in the legislative program. The fact that two of the eleven Congressmen must lose their seats in the House complicated matters. In no reapportionment of the past had Iowa's quota of Congressmen been decreased. The political struggle in the House promised to be interesting, for with thirty-eight Democrats[22] and a number of doubtful Republicans arrayed against them, the Republicans in control found enough opposition to threaten their supremacy. The various plans presented for committee approval indicated the nature of the forthcoming battle.

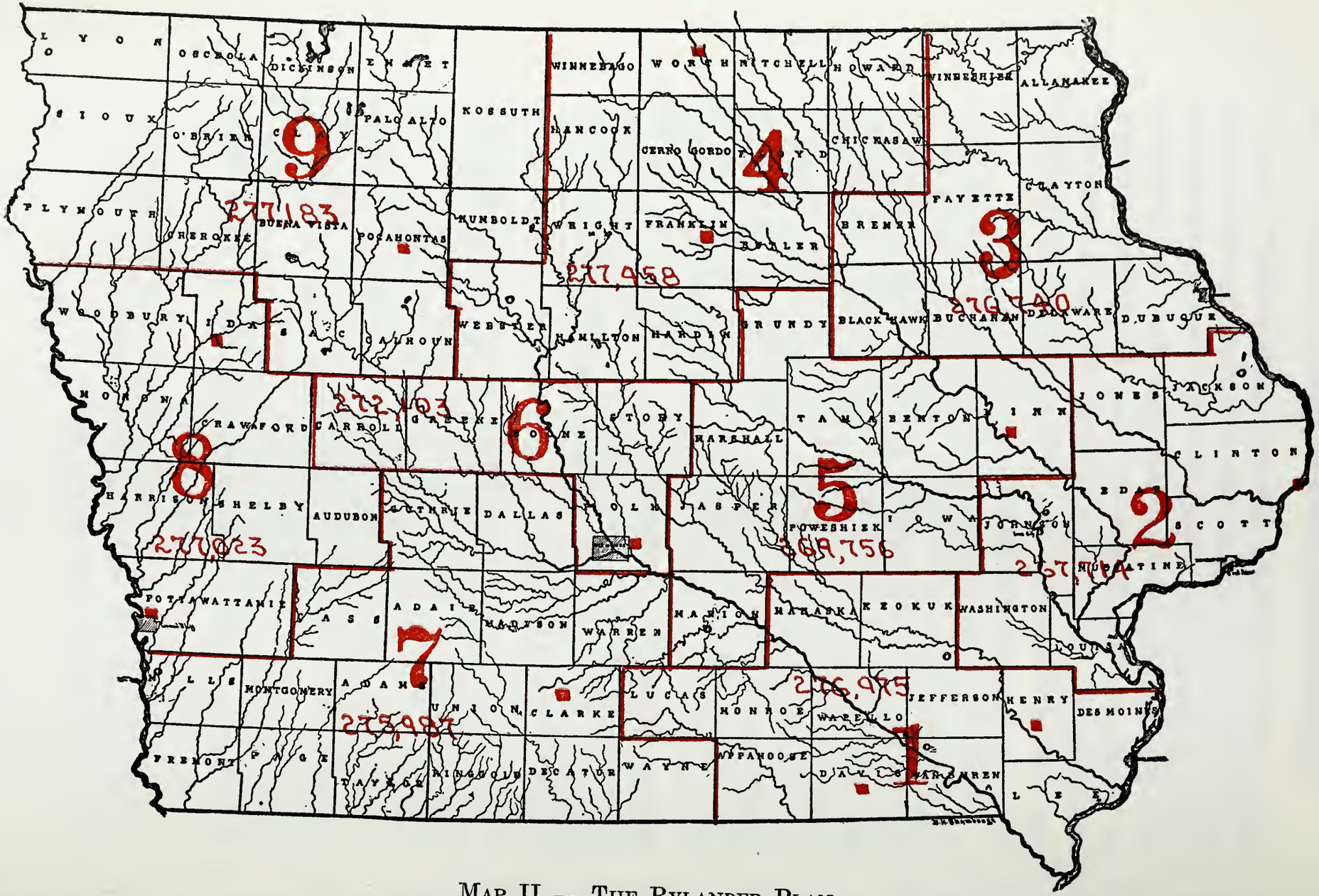
The Rylander Plan. — The first of the redistricting bills was introduced in the House, on February 24th, by Representative John F. Rylander of Marshall County.[23] The outstanding feature of this bill was the placing of Representative Ed Campbell of the eleventh district into a district with Representative Swanson of the ninth.[24] The Rylander plan gave Swanson four of his own counties in a district including both Sioux City and Council Bluffs.

[21] *The Des Moines Register,* January 7, 1931.

[22] *Legislative Directory of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of Iowa,* 1931.

[23] House File No. 359, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

[24] *The Des Moines Register,* March 8, 1931.



MAP II — THE RYLANDER PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

Such a plan was opposed to the prevailing idea that the west, because of population and party considerations — and especially the northwest — should be little disturbed by the new district lines.

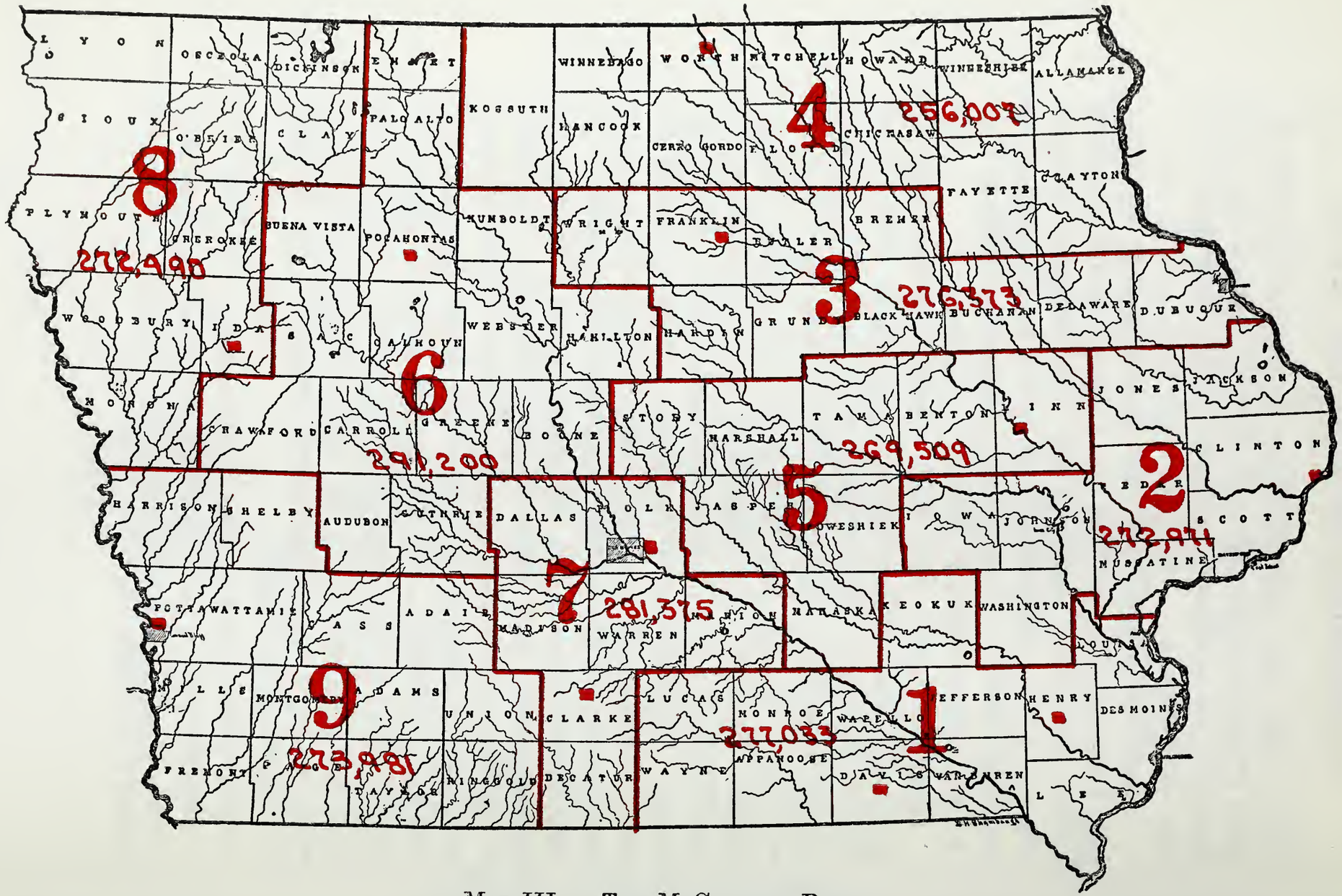
It is interesting to note that Representative Rylander took exceptional care of his own district, the fifth, by providing that Linn, Benton, Tama, Marshall, and Grundy counties of the old fifth district should be included in his new fifth district[25] — and that Congressman Cyrenus Cole of Linn County was left without opposition.

The district lines were fairly drawn, however, and the population distribution was unusually fair. The second district, including 267,714 inhabitants, showed the lowest population and the fourth, with 277,458, possessed the highest total.[26] Despite the fact that the arrangement was decidedly equitable as to population and area divisions, the fact that in the first, fourth, and ninth districts two of the present Congressmen were thrown together doomed the plan to failure. Then, too, the second district would have been too heavily Democratic to suit Republican desires. As Mr. Rylander formed it, this district cast a majority of approximately 2000 votes for the Democratic candidates in the 1930 congressional election.[27] The third district, also, although not dangerously Democratic as here formed, with Dubuque, Bremer, and Winneshiek counties casting a Democratic congressional majority vote in 1930, would have had possibilities for the future. On the whole, however, the plan was comparatively impartial, but it failed to acquire party support.

[25] House File No. 359, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

[26] *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*

[27] Congressional election returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.



MAP III — THE MCCAULLEY PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

The McCaulley Plan. — Three days after the Rylander Bill was introduced, another redistricting plan reached the House. Representatives A. H. Avery, F. W. Elliott, M. R. McCaulley, O. P. Morton, and C. J. Orr, evidently believing in the old adage "in union there is strength", united to draw up what was called the McCaulley Bill. The chief feature of this plan was that it would "not greatly affect any congressman in the district of any sponsor of the bill".[28] Thus congressional districts number two, three, four, ten, and eleven remained without drastic change, and were arranged so that no opposition would be afforded the incumbents then in Congress.[29]

The population of the districts as divided by the McCaulley Bill varied from 256,007 in the fourth district to 291,200 in the new sixth district.[30] Also an added or subtracted county here and there in almost every district helped to form a very irregular and unsightly congressional map, in appearance not unlike a multi-colored crazy quilt, so familiar to the members of the older generation.

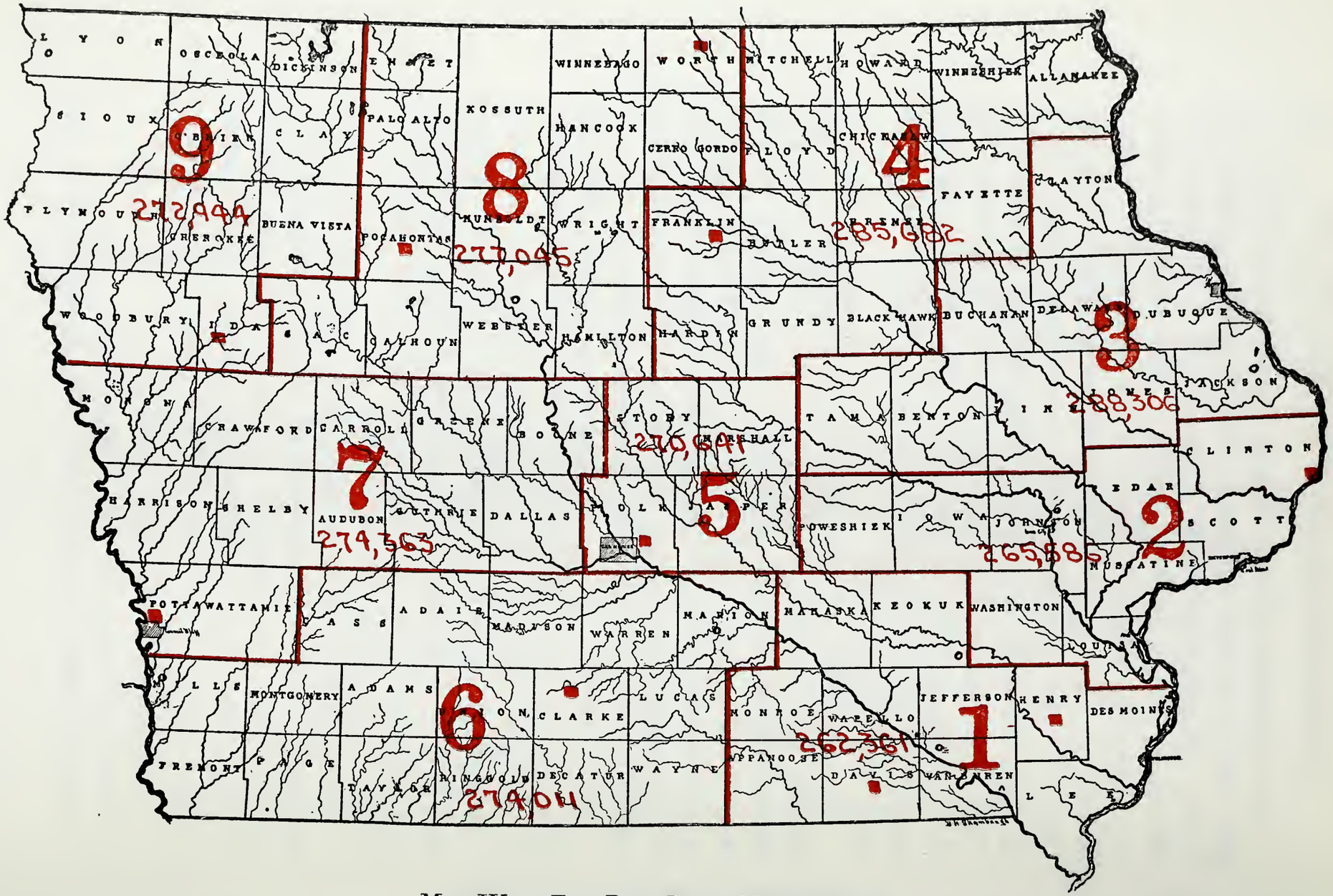
The McCaulley group removed Story County from the seventh district and substituted Clarke and Decatur counties in its place. Such an arrangement would have developed a political battle between Representatives Cassius C. Dowell and Lloyd Thurston, but the latter, having the support of only two of his counties, would very likely have faced defeat at the hands of Mr. Dowell.

The obvious unfairness of the plan was shown by the fact that it left unchanged the old "monkey-wrench" third district, with the exception of the addition of Grundy County. The McCaulley measure did not secure enough supporters and it gave way to other plans, which, although

[28] *The Des Moines Register,* March 8, 1931.

[29] House File No. 403, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

[30] *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP IV — THE BAIR PLAN, NUMBER ONE
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

perhaps not entirely fair, did abolish some of the 1886 gerrymandering.

Bair's Plan, Number One. — Next came a plan which, in the words of the author, was devised "from the point of view of making each district as symmetrical as possible to contain an average population of approximately 280,000 paying no attention to political consideration." Representative J. Park Bair of Buena Vista County introduced this measure in the House on March 9th.[31] Changes were made in all the old districts, with the exception of the new ninth — Bair's own home area. Story, Marshall, Polk, and Jasper counties were grouped together to form one district with a population of 270,641 — which was perhaps the best arranged district of the entire scheme. The first district would have had a population of 262,361 and the third 288,306.

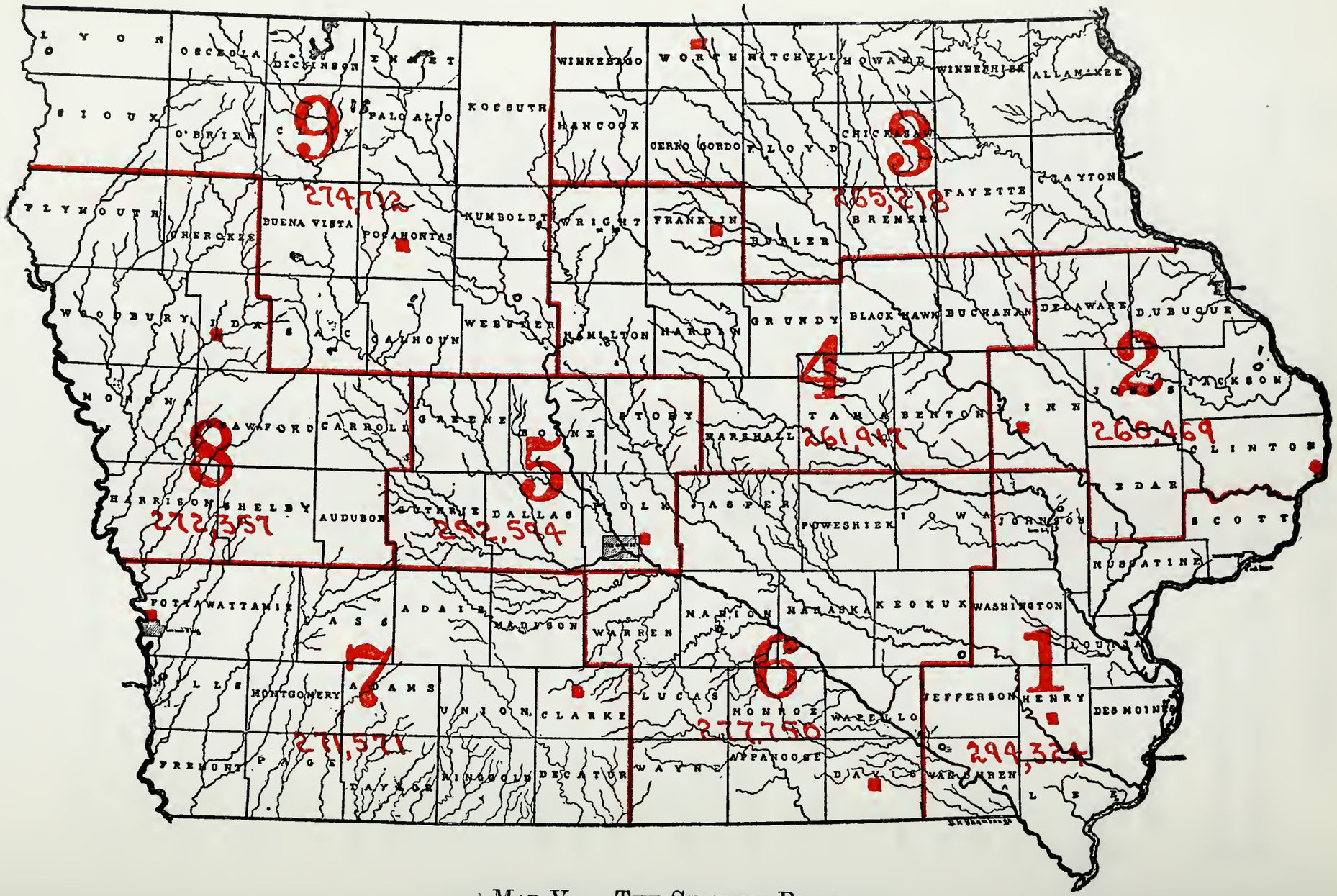
Whether intentionally or not, the Bair plan would have split the Democratic power in the second district. Clinton and Scott counties with their Democratic votes were left together, but their strength was somewhat offset by the addition of Poweshiek, Louisa, and Washington counties, and the removal of Jackson, a Democratic county, to the third district. In 1930 the counties in the district as here shown cast a Democratic congressional vote of 32,392 as against a total of 32,943 Republican votes.[32]

The Stanley Plan. — On March 10, 1931, Senator F. C. Stanley of Mahaska County brought forth[33] a redistricting

[31] *The Des Moines Register,* March 10, 1931; House File No. 416, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

[32] Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.

[33] Senate File No. 321, Forty-fourth General Assembly.



MAP V — THE STANLEY PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

bill which was unique in two ways. It was the first measure to be introduced into the Senate in regard to redistricting; and it was the first to propose that the old sixth district should not be destroyed. Such a plan, of course, implied that Representative C. W. Ramseyer of the sixth district should be assured of retaining his seat in Congress. This might well have been expected from Senator Stanley, for he was elected from Mahaska County — the center of Mr. Ramseyer's district.

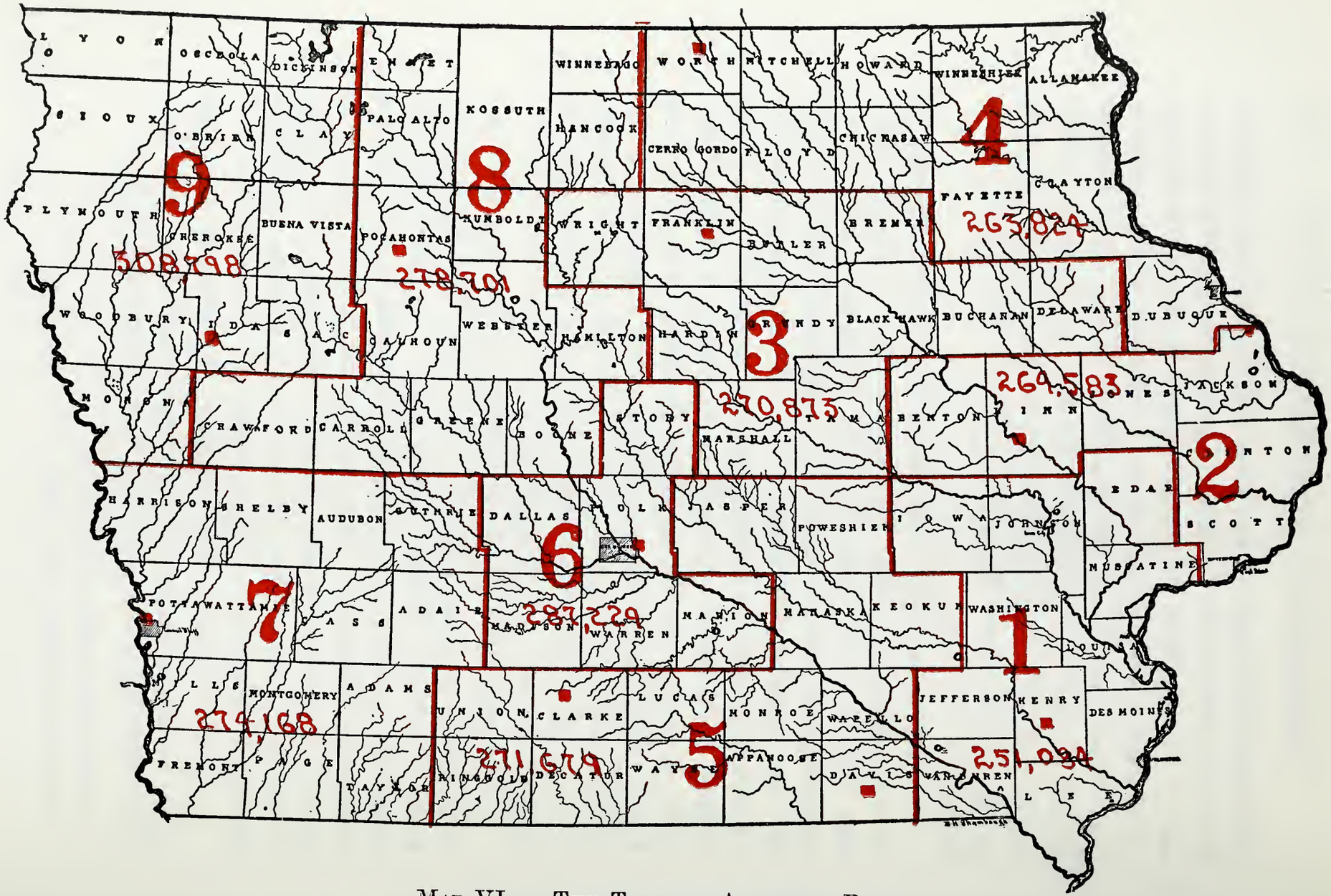
Democratic strength would have been tested severely in the second district under the Stanley plan, for Linn County was placed in the district with Dubuque and Clinton counties, and Scott County was withdrawn and placed in the first district. Whether or not Representative B. M. Jacobsen and his wet Democrats from the Mississippi River section could have overcome Linn County's staunch Republican support would have been doubtful. However, with Jones, Cedar, and Delaware counties (all Republican areas for the past ten years)[34] coming to the aid of Linn County, it is certain that there would have been terrific political struggles in the second district.

The population of the Iowa districts under Stanley's arrangement was comparatively even. The first district was given a total of 294,324 inhabitants — an equitable distribution considering the fact that the southeastern counties are losing population. The fifth district, however, was also given a population of over 290,000, apparently for no good reason at all, for the Des Moines area is gaining population as rapidly as any part of the State.[35]

It should be said, however, that the Stanley plan was made up of regularly formed districts, and there was very little criticism as to partiality and gerrymandering.

[34] *Iowa Official Register,* 1919 to 1930.

[35] *Iowa Official Register,* 1919 to 1930.



MAP VI — THE TAMISIEA-ANDERSON PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

The Tamisiea-Anderson Plan. — No matter how many good points a measure possesses, it must receive votes before it can become a law — and that is exactly what Representative Hugh J. Tamisiea and Senator C. E. Anderson were thinking about when they introduced their redistricting plan in both the House and Senate on March 10th. "It was drawn with the view of obtaining support of legislators in large blocks, and to tackle the remapping problem as a political matter."[36]

The framers of this bill worked on the assumption that the more districts they left undisturbed, the more votes would be drawn to the support of their bill. As a result, the boundaries of the seventh, tenth, and eleventh districts were left unchanged, while districts number four and nine remained almost as they were formed in 1886.

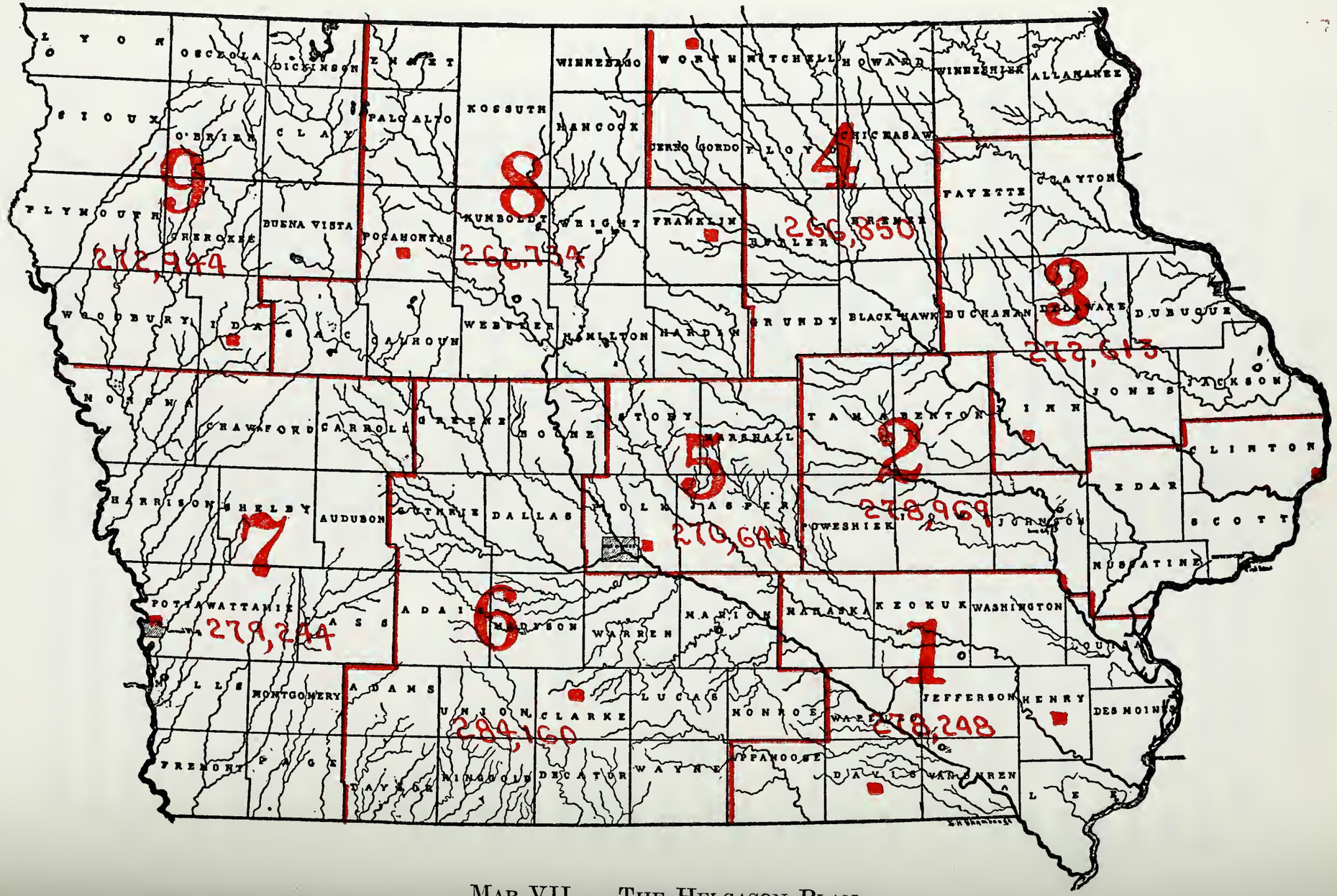
The plan also met with the approval of the old first and sixth districts, because it did not change them radically and left to each Congressman the territory in which he was strong.[37] The old fifth and eighth districts, however, were entirely destroyed and their component parts were absorbed in the adjacent districts. The second district in the Tamisiea-Anderson plan threw Representatives Jacobsen and Cole together in a political battle that would indeed be close.

The new ninth district was given an unneeded surplus of population, with a total of 308,798, and the first district, which really needed a surplus, was left with 251,084 people.[38] Outside of these two irregularities, the population was equitably distributed and the plan was not at all a poor one, although it smacked considerably of the status quo.

[36] House File No. 442, Forty-fourth General Assembly; *The Des Moines Register,* March 13, 1931.

[37] *The Des Moines Register,* March 13, 1931.

[38] *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP VII — THE HELGASON PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

The Helgason Plan. — Representative E. O. Helgason's congressional map would seem to indicate that his chief object in redistricting the State was to keep the minority party from gaining control of even one district. To accomplish his purpose, he split the Democratic second district in two parts and then attached a block of central Republican counties to counteract the Democratic vote of Clinton and Scott counties.[39]

Representatives Fred C. Gilchrist and T. J. B. Robinson were pitted together in the new eighth district, but the author of the bill was careful to give his own Representative, Mr. Gilchrist, the support of ten of his old counties, as against Mr. Robinson's three. A special district was carved out for Representative Thurston. The old seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth districts were each to give at least two counties to help form the new sixth district. The smallest population contained in any of Helgason's districts was 266,734 people, while number six, with 284,160 inhabitants, was the largest.[40]

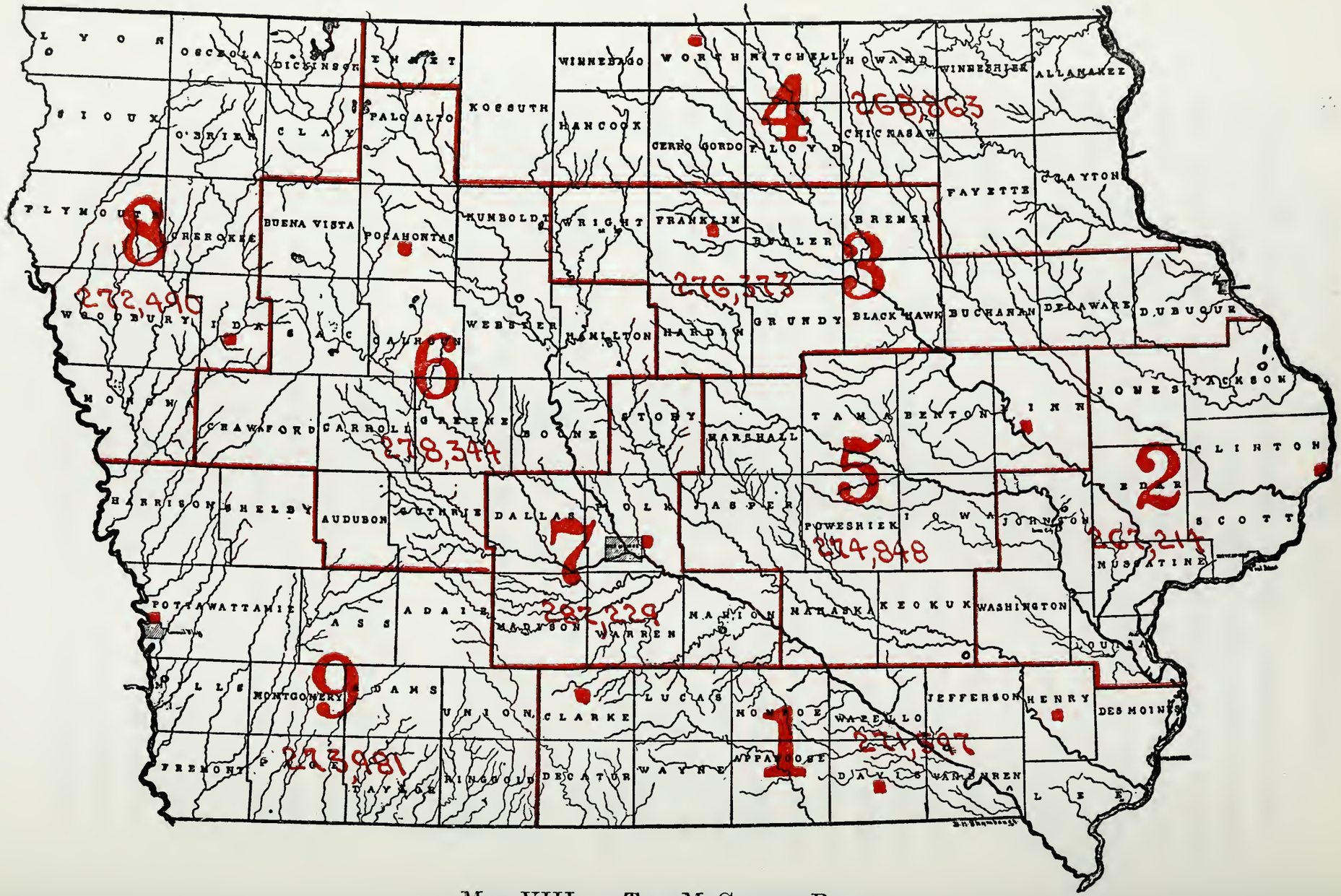
The plan, as a whole, as far as population and area are concerned, was very good with the exception of the second district. There the gerrymandering habit broke forth, and congressional lines were drawn for the benefit of the party in power.

The McCreery Plan. — Selfishness, or perhaps "local interest", was a dominating motive throughout the entire redistricting movement. Consequently, Representative D. R. McCreery of Linn County is not to be unduly criticised for his redistricting measure.[41] His bill, the seventh to be introduced, placed his home county in an interior district

[39] House File No. 438, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

[40] *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*

[41] House File No. 486, Forty-fourth General Assembly.



MAP VIII — THE MCCREERY PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

made up of four of the counties from the old fifth district, and five new counties from the second and sixth districts. Linn County would have remained the dominating county of a conservative Republican district. It was exactly what the people of Linn County wanted.

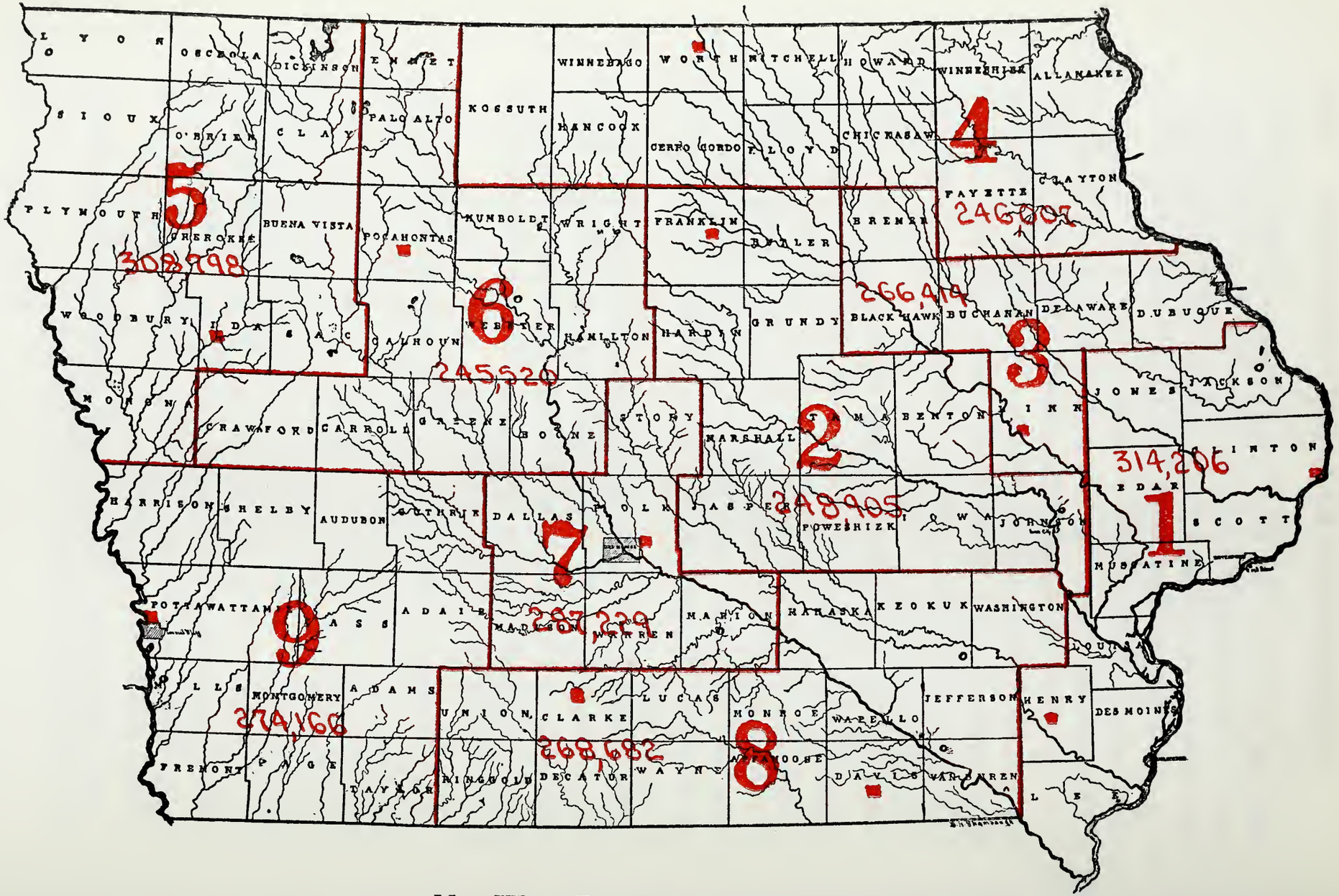
The McCreery plan had several other peculiar features. The old "monkey-wrench" third district retained its glaring boundary lines; districts number one and four extended in a narrow column of counties almost two-thirds of the way across the State; and the seventh district was left without any change.

Only in the first district would there have been a real struggle for the seat in Congress — but there Representatives C. W. Ramseyer, Lloyd Thurston, and W. F. Kopp would all three have been involved in a "battle royal". Kopp and Thurston, each with five of his present supporting counties, would have had the advantage in the contest for reëlection.

Population in this arrangement varied from 287,229 in the new seventh to 267,214 in the new third district. However, district lines in general wound and weaved about to form a splotchy looking congressional map that was not at all satisfactory in its appearance.

The Thompson-Lamb Plan. — The plan introduced into the House by Representatives C. W. Lamb and Thore Thompson was perhaps the poorest of the ten proposals submitted for legislative consideration. In the first place, equal distribution of population was almost disregarded, for the writers of the bill placed only 248,000, 246,000, and 245,000 inhabitants in districts number two, four, and six, respectively. At the same time the first district was allotted 314,000 and the fifth 308,000.[42]

[42] House File No. 495, Forty-fourth General Assembly; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP IX — THE THOMPSON-LAMB PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

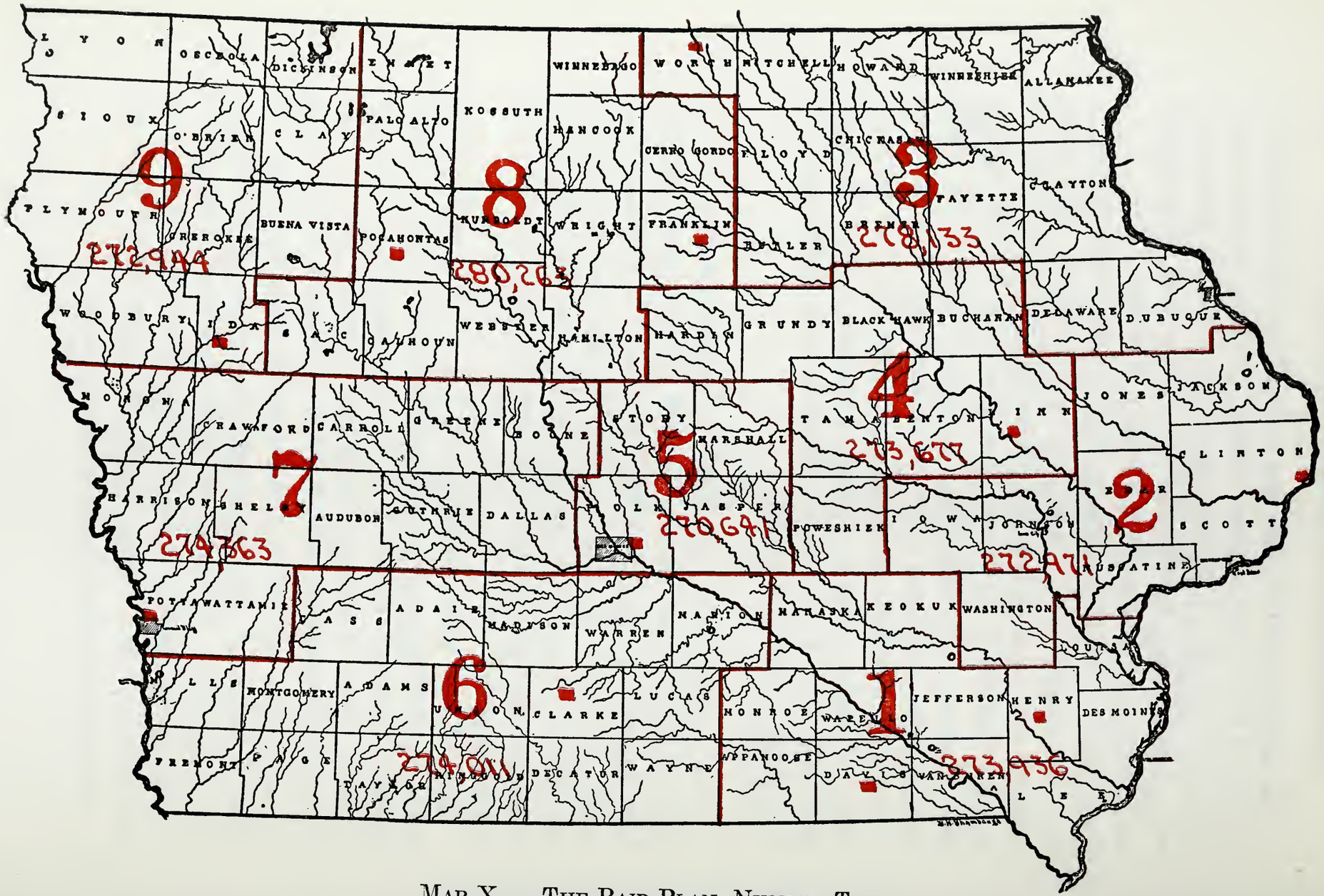
The authors of the plan did not neglect the political interests of their own sections, either. District number seven remained exactly as it was, while Thompson's home area was changed only by the addition of Kossuth, Winnebago, and Hancock counties to the fourth district.

A threat against the Democratic power concentrated in the Mississippi River territory was evident. The third district was made safely Republican by the party strength in Linn and Black Hawk counties, while Lee, Louisa, Henry, Des Moines, and Muscatine counties would have easily counteracted Jacobsen's vote in Clinton and Scott counties in the first district. Such an arrangement would have assured a Kopp victory in district number one, and would also point to a Ramseyer triumph over Representative Thurston in the new eighth.

Plan Number Two by Bair. — Representative J. Park Bair of Buena Vista County seemed a little dissatisfied with his first plan to redistrict the State and on March 16th he made a second attempt.[43] The change was undoubtedly an effort to secure the support of the eastern part of the State, for the western districts were left almost as his first plan suggested.

One of the main features of his second redistricting measure was the removal of Worth County from the eighth district into the third, and its replacement by Franklin County. Such a change would have further protected the interests of Representative Gilbert N. Haugen who, in point of service, is the oldest Congressman from the State. In Bair's first plan Haugen would have been pitted against Representative Gilchrist in alien territory. In Bair's second plan, Representative Robinson would have been sacrificed, while Haugen would have been placed in a dis-

[43] House File No. 513, Forty-fourth General Assembly.



MAP X — THE BAIR PLAN, NUMBER TWO
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

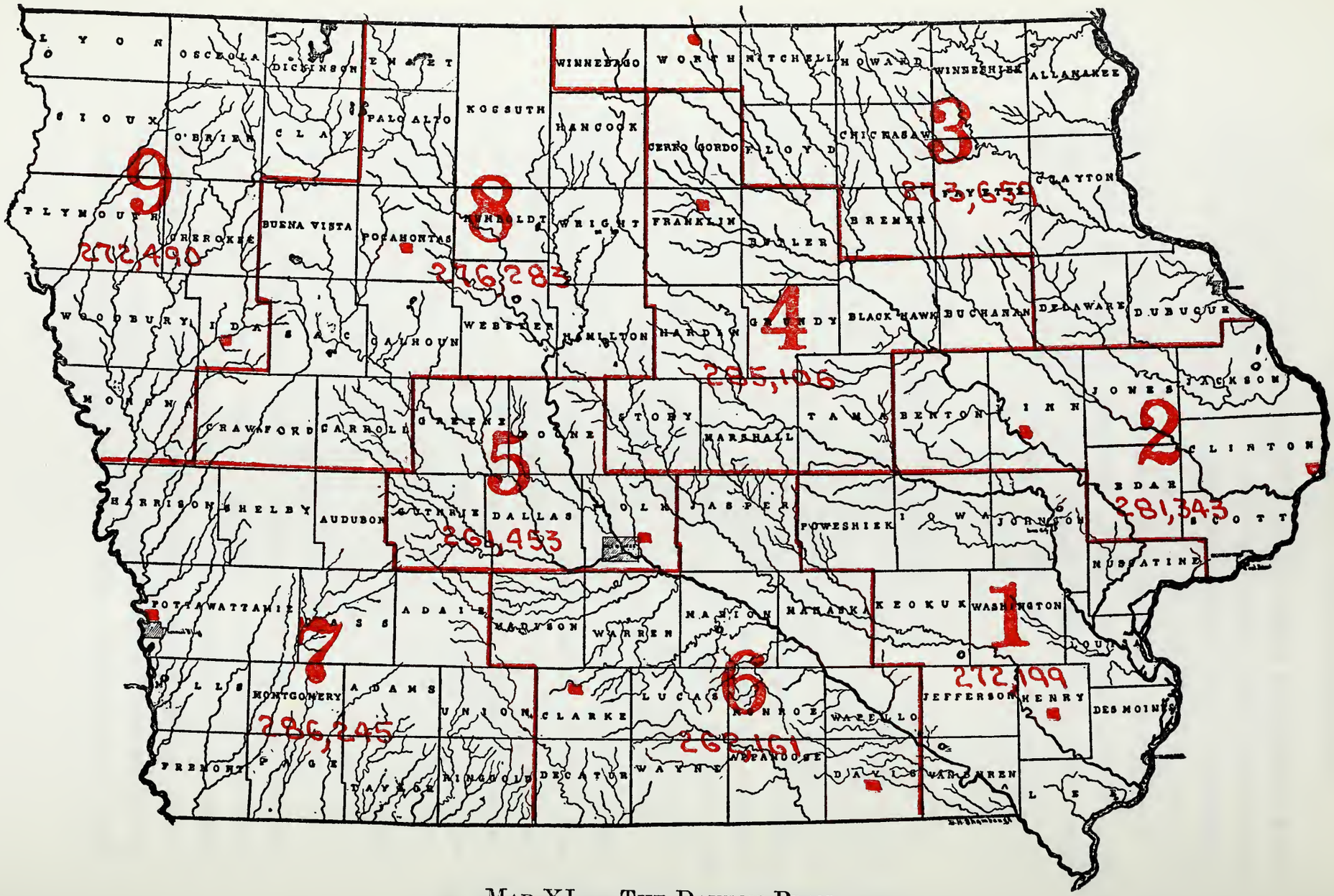
trict containing many of his supporting counties where he would have been almost certain of reëlection. This change incidentally was intended to bring the support of the fourth district to the Bair plan.

Population was even more carefully divided than in Mr. Bair's first measure. The "spread" among the nine districts was only 9622 — an arrangement which was nearly perfect, although it failed to take future developments into consideration.

Dayton Plan. — A very good territorial division of the southern half of the State was provided in House File No. 516, advanced by Representative C. O. Dayton of Washington County. Politically the author succeeded very well in protecting his own district, for he left Representative Kopp without opposition for his place in Congress, and changed the district lines only by the addition of five northern counties which were apparently added to offset the deficiency in population found in the southeastern section of the State. In the new sixth district Mr. Dayton's plan would have placed Ramseyer and Thurston together, each with five supporting counties. The outcome of that battle would depend almost entirely upon the vote cast in the neutral counties — Madison, Warren, and Marion.

Mr. Dayton attempted to swamp the Democratic second district by placing Benton, Linn, Jones, and Cedar counties in the same political area with Jackson, Clinton, and Scott — the latter three all Democratic areas. Very likely Representative Cole from Cedar Rapids could have won over Jacobsen of Clinton County if such an arrangement had passed the legislature.

The author of the plan evidently considered population an important consideration in drawing up a new political map of the State. The number of inhabitants allotted to



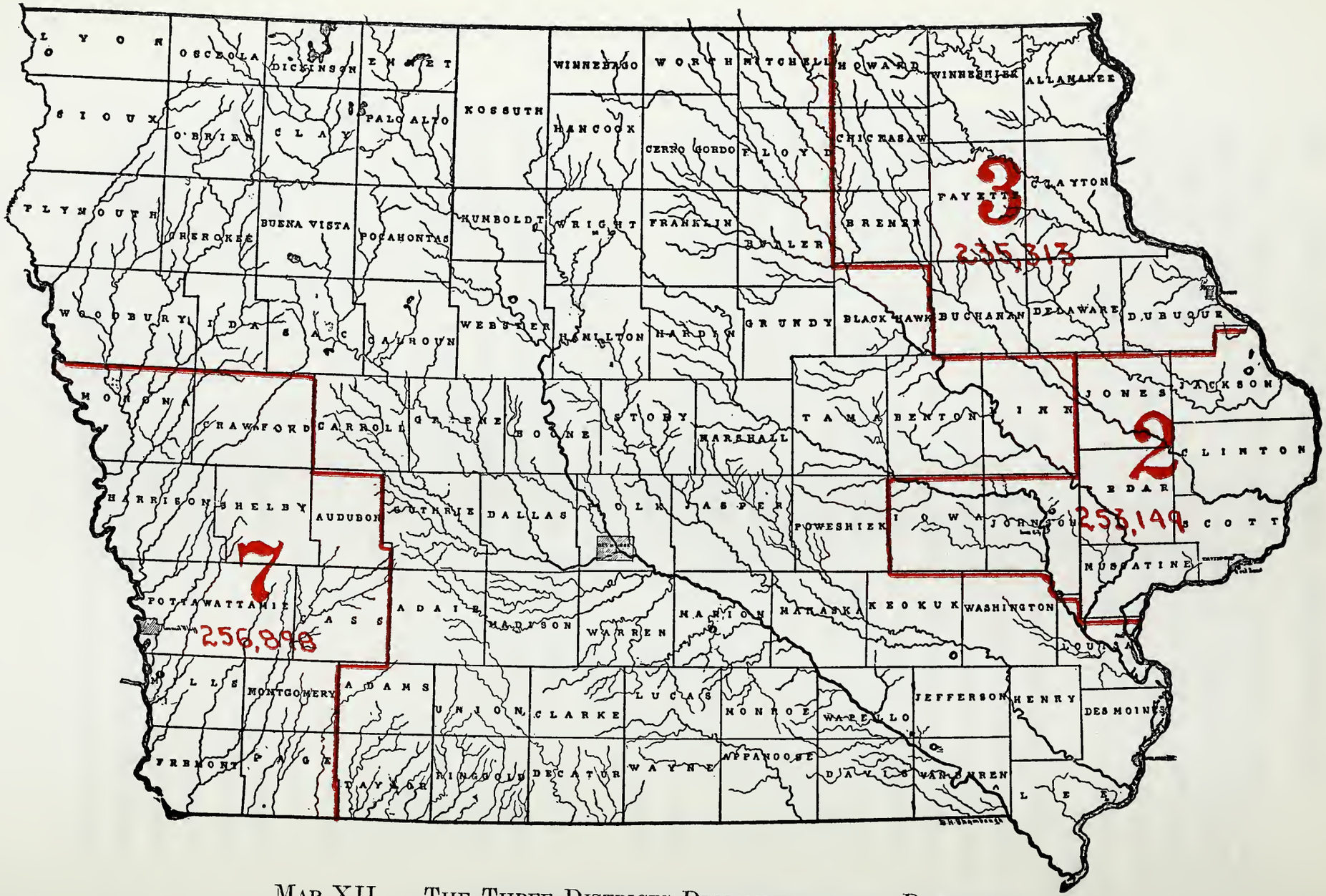
MAP XI — THE DAYTON PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

the various districts ran from 261,453 in number five to 286,245 in number seven. As a whole the plan was comparatively good, but like many of the others it failed to appeal to party workers. Its commonplace qualities attracted very little attention from party leaders.

When the day's work was at an end in the Iowa legislature on March 16th, ten plans of redistricting the State had been introduced into the House or the Senate. From these ten suggestions was to come the final legislative act. The time had come for party caucuses and group meetings and the leaders began to align their forces for the coming battle. It must be remembered that such an event as congressional redistricting had occurred but once in the past half century; it was an unusual opportunity for statesmanship and political manipulation. That the members of the General Assembly were aware of the importance of the occasion there can be no doubt.

DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPTS AT AMENDMENT

From the organization of the Forty-fourth General Assembly in January, it had been generally assumed that Democratic influences would play no little part in the construction of the new Iowa congressional districts. With thirty-eight members in the House, the minority party threatened to disrupt Republican power; a coalition was all that was necessary to insure for the Democrats some of the redistricting spoils. The first assertion of such a minority stand came on March 16th in the Iowa House of Representatives when the Democrats "revealed the three congressional districts" they hoped to get when the State was "remapped into nine districts". At that time Representatives O. D. Wearin of Mills County, O. J. Reimers of Lyon County, and S. D. Whiting of Johnson County, who



MAP XII — THE THREE DISTRICTS DEMANDED BY THE DEMOCRATS

formed the committee to handle the party's redistricting stand, filed amendments to five of the redistricting bills in the House. Later the same amendment was to be filed to the other bills before the House.[44]

Such Democratic action was apparently necessary if the party was to have any hand in the redistricting. The Committee on Judicial and Political Districts, made up entirely of Republicans, precluded the endorsement of any Democratic measures through the ordinary channels. Amendments were the only means by which the desires of the minority party could get consideration on the floor of the House.

The Democratic plan was simple. Three sections of the State were fairly heavily Democratic and might possibly return a Democratic Representative if boundary lines were favorably drawn. (See Map No. 12). Thus, under the suggested arrangement, the second district, with a population of 253,149, was made up of the counties of the old second with the addition of Jones and Cedar counties from the fifth district.[45] Such a lineup would very likely return a Democratic vote in the 1932 election.

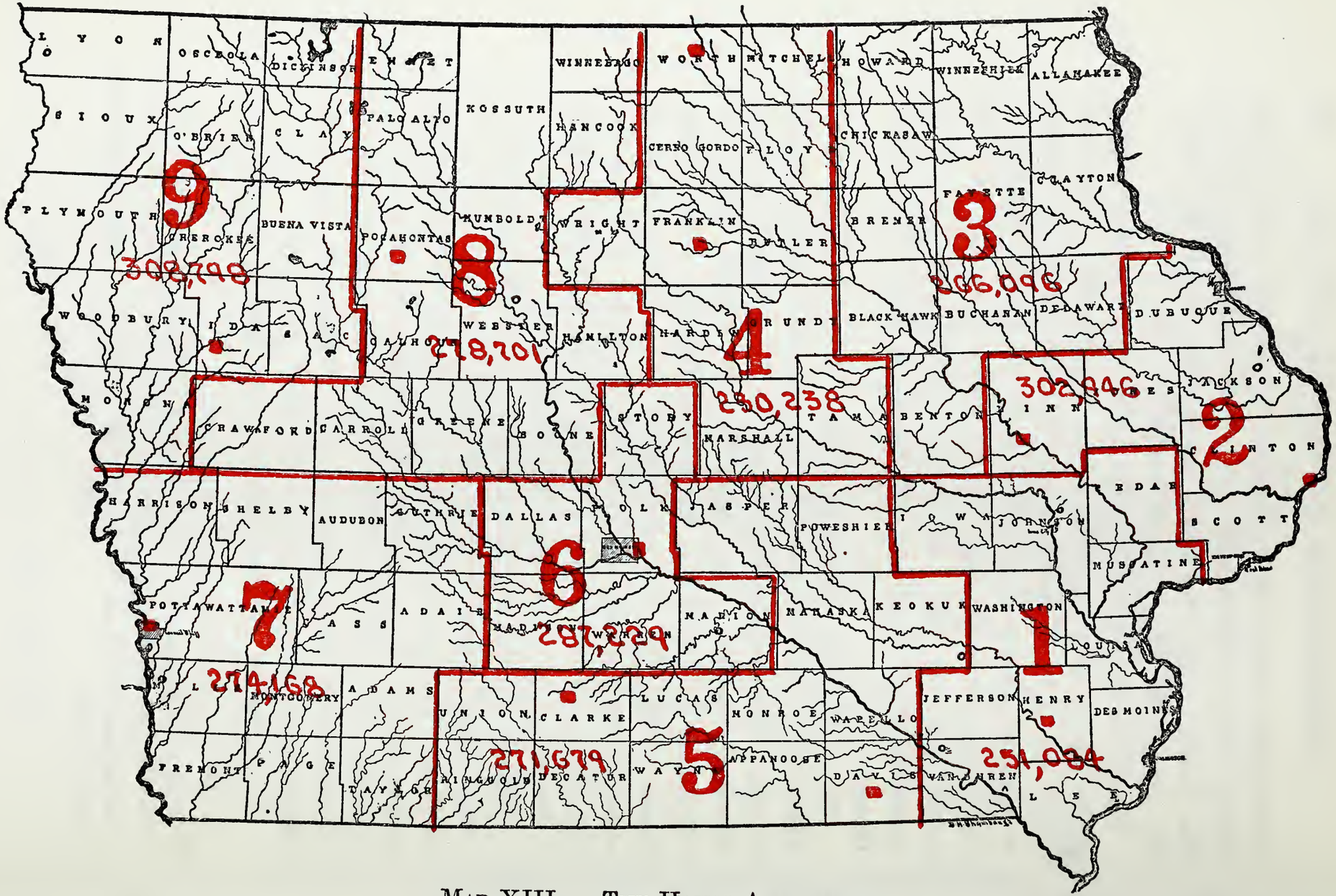
Included in the new third district were Dubuque, Winneshiek, and Bremer counties, all of which cast a Democratic majority in the congressional election in 1930, and Chickasaw County whose inhabitants polled a Republican majority vote of only 270 in 1930.[46] The remaining six counties, however, for the most part, have consistently reported a Republican majority during the past ten years.

The seventh district indicated on Map 12 was the one

[44] *The Des Moines Register,* March 18, 1931.

[45] *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa; Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1931, p. 979.

[46] Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.



MAP XIII — THE HAYES AMENDMENT
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

which Democratic followers insisted might produce a favorable Democratic majority. In the Forty-fourth General Assembly, Monona, Crawford, Shelby, Cass, Mills, and Fremont counties were each represented by at least one Democrat in the House, while Fremont and Page counties each sent a Democratic Senator to Des Moines.[47] The population of the seventh district as the Democrats would have arranged it would have been 256,898.[48] It was made up of parts of the old eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh districts.

On Friday, March 27th, the Democratic declarations assumed more tangible proportions, when Representative James Hayes of Dubuque County offered a coalition amendment to the Tamisiea-Anderson redistricting bill.[49]

The idea back of this plan was to concentrate Democratic power in the second district, and to leave six of the districts in the Tamisiea-Anderson bill unchanged. By such an arrangement, Democratic leaders hoped to gain the votes of most of the supporters of the Tamisiea plan, and at the same time to attract the thirty-eight Democratic votes in the House. If such a coalition could be effected the measure would pass.

One of the glaring faults of the Hayes amendment, as politicians viewed it, was the fact that the suggested new third district had no present Congressman within its boundaries. Thus this division would bring about the unseating of at least three of the present Representatives instead of the minimum number of two. In his second, fourth, and fifth districts Mr. Hayes had two Congressmen.

This attempt to suit both parties resulted in a poor division of the State so far as population was concerned. Under

[47] *Legislative Directory of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of Iowa,* 1931.

[48] *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*

[49] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1931, p. 1200.

the 1930 census figures, the new fourth district would have included only 230,238 inhabitants, while the northwestern district would have contained 308,798 people.

Needless to say, the plan failed, for while it might have attracted the western vote of the State, it so tore up the northeastern section that it received hearty opposition from the counties involved. It appeared that Republican interests remained uppermost. Followers of the Tamisiea plan refused to support such a coalition scheme, and the Hayes amendment received little recognition in the House.

The culmination of Democratic efforts to gain their ends came on March 30th, with an amendment to the Tamisiea-Anderson Bill introduced into the House by Samuel D. Whiting of Johnson County.[50] In addition to Mr. Whiting, the measure was sponsored by Representatives LeRoy Shields, O. D. Wearin, F. W. Elliott, P. H. Donlon, H. S. Berry, Homer Hush, Roy Drake of Keokuk County, J. H. Aiken, W. J. McLain, and I. M. Reed.[51] It, also, was advanced as a compromise measure, and its supporters hoped to gain the votes of enough dissatisfied Republicans to swing the balance in their favor. With solid Democratic support, only seventeen Republicans were needed for a majority.

The district lines of the Whiting amendment followed fairly closely the lines proposed by the Tamisiea Bill. The southeastern section presented the greatest difference, for the Whiting forces suggested that the second district exclude Linn County, and extend down the river to include Muscatine, Louisa, and Des Moines counties. This provision would have left Johnson County in the second district and would have left Congressman Jacobsen without

[50] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1931, p. 1296.

[51] *The Daily Iowan,* March 31, 1931.

opposition from any present Congressman. The exclusion of Linn County would also have left the district more heavily Democratic.

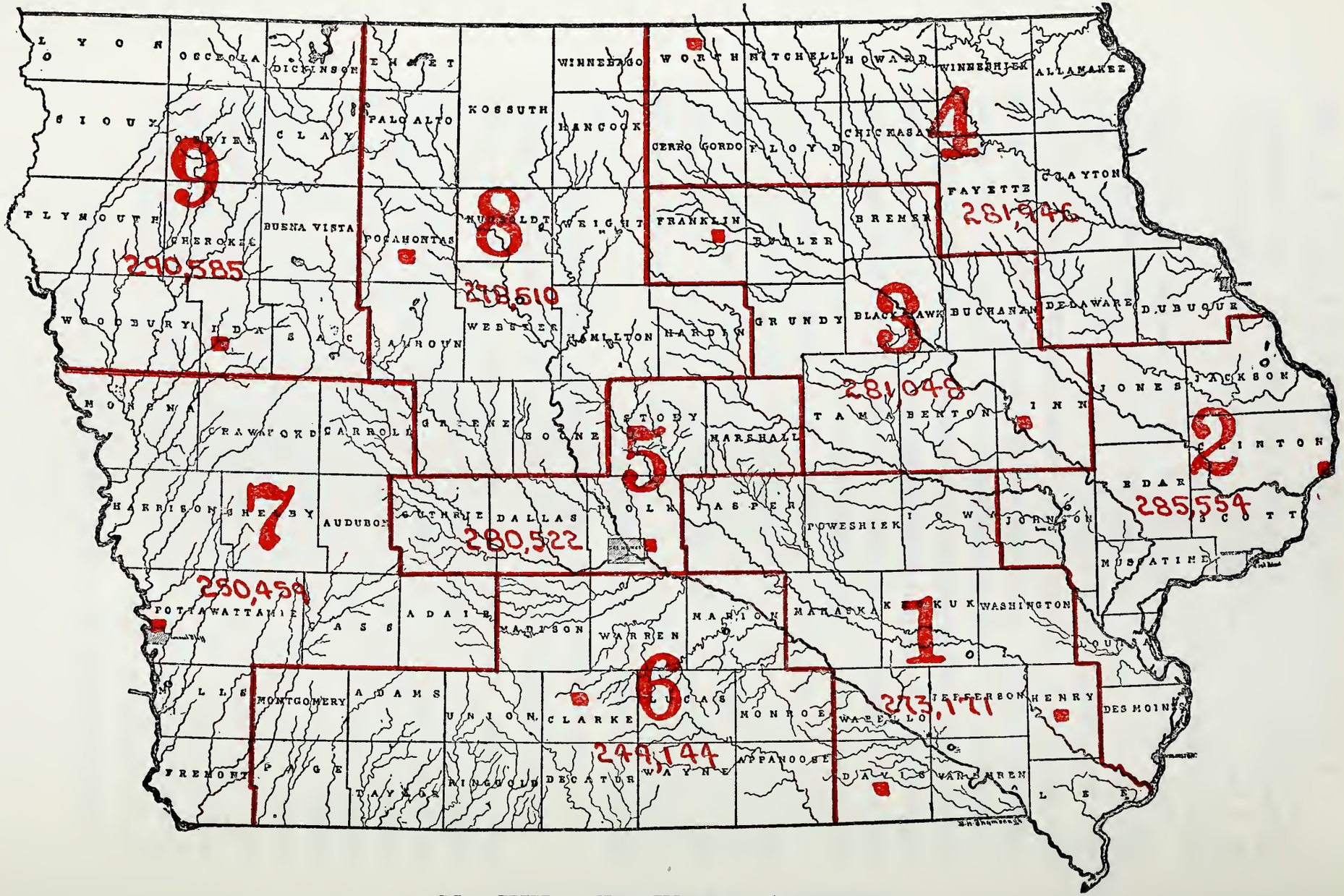
Perhaps the poorest bit of district architecture in the Whiting structure was the fifth district. Des Moines would still have remained the political center of the district, but the addition of Guthrie and Marshall counties would have created a highly decentralized and far from compact unit. Undoubtedly the construction of this district was one of the greatest factors in the defeat of the Whiting measure. Guthrie County might better have been placed in the seventh district instead — a plan which both Polk County and Guthrie County would have favored.

With the exception of districts number six and seven, the population of the Whiting districts was fairly evenly divided, although the sixth, with 249,144 inhabitants, and the seventh, with 250,459, contained far too few people, considering the fact that they are not the most rapidly growing sections of the State.

THE PASSAGE OF THE TAMISIEA-ANDERSON BILL

On Wednesday morning, April 1st, the redistricting problem having been made a special order for that day, the battle began.[52] Republican efforts had for some time been centered upon the Tamisiea Bill, while the Democrats were content to support the Whiting proposal. At ten A. M. the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole in order to select a redistricting plan to recommend to the House for passage. Only one bill, the Tamisiea plan, House File 442, had been reported by the sifting committee for consideration. If any other schemes were to obtain further notice they would have to be presented as amendments to the Tamisiea Bill.

[52] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1931, pp. 1143, 1144.



MAP XIV — THE WHITING AMENDMENT
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

The Democrats at first presented a solid front to Republican forces, with their thirty-eight members opposing the Tamisiea Bill. Added to these were Representatives F. W. Elliott of Scott County, D. R. McCreery and F. C. Byers of Linn County, and a number of other dissatisfied Republicans.[53] Satisfied that they could carry the vote of the Committee of the Whole, the Whiting followers were eager to force the issue. Representative B. G. Allen of Pocahontas County, however, "stalled the Democratic effort to get a vote by moving that first votes on all amendments should be informal".[54] "Any way to avoid a parliamentary tangle", he argued, "should be satisfactory to all concerned". Furthermore, the vote was merely to "ascertain the sentiment of the House".

Representative Hugh J. Tamisiea of Harrison County, author of the bill before the House, opened the redistricting debate. His plan, he contended, had three advantages. It changed district lines the least of any plan introduced; it permitted influential Iowa Congressmen to retain their seats; and it was regarded favorably by the Senate.

Samuel D. Whiting of Johnson County, floor leader of the Democrats, "countered with charges that the Tamisiea Bill was a deliberate gerrymander for Republican advantage."[55] He also maintained that his measure had the support of the Senate. "In fact," he said, "our plan was written in the Senate."

Throughout the morning the Democratic guns played with unerring accuracy upon the weak points of the Tamisiea Bill. It was not logical, the Democrats declared, that the large cities should be thrown together, and the agricul-

[53] *Des Moines Tribune-Capitol,* April 2, 1931.

[54] *Des Moines Tribune-Capitol,* April 2, 1931.

[55] *Des Moines Tribune-Capitol,* April 2, 1931.

tural territory be left to form the remaining districts. In particular, they pointed to the second district, with several large cities. In the past each of these urban areas had formed a nucleus of a congressional district; the Democrats argued for a continuation of that policy.

During the noon hour, however, Republican interests were not idle and aid was rallied to the Tamisiea standard. Representative E. R. Brown of Polk County, one of the more influential members of the House, was among those to defend the Tamisiea plan. The Whiting amendment did not suit Polk County, he said, for Guthrie and Marshall counties did not belong in that district. Furthermore, it seemed to him not illogical to form some dominantly urban districts and others mainly agricultural in character for each district should be composed of a like-minded population.

Just when sentiment appeared to be in favor of the Democratic measure, the Tamisiea forces introduced an amendment to their bill in the hope of securing a few additional votes. They proposed that Dubuque County be placed in the second district instead of the fourth, and that Buchanan and Delaware counties be shunted into the new fourth district. The amendment also threw Benton County into the third district instead of the second. These changes undoubtedly pleased Congressman Haugen's followers. For the effect of this amendment see Maps No. 6 and 15.

The Whiting group retaliated by revamping their unsatisfactory second district. Their amendment traded Des Moines County for Iowa County in the second district, placed Cerro Gordo County in the new eighth district, and threw Bremer County into the fourth.

Everything was in readiness now for the ballot. Representative Leonard Simmer of Wapello County made a plea for fair play, although he said, "We are all more or less selfish in this proposition — each one trying to get the best

that he can."[56] Representatives from Scott and Linn counties were particularly anxious that the two counties be placed in different districts. Others, whose counties were to be little affected by the vote, asked that local interests be subordinated in favor of the welfare of the State as a whole.

When the buttons pressed for the informal ballot on the Whiting amendment, and the red and green lights of the voting machine flashed on, the leaders of each group waited anxiously, for the vote apparently was very close. The informal ballot indicated that the House opposed the Whiting plan by a vote of 54 to 53. The vote on the Tamisiea plan indicated the same result, and when the formal vote was taken the Republicans were victorious, 55 to 52. Thus the Whiting Bill, which one Representative declared was "the biggest Democratic smoke screen I ever saw", met defeat, and the Tamisiea redistricting scheme was generally conceded the victory. On the following day the measure was favorably reported to the House by the Committee of the Whole, and it passed by a vote of 60 to 48.[57]

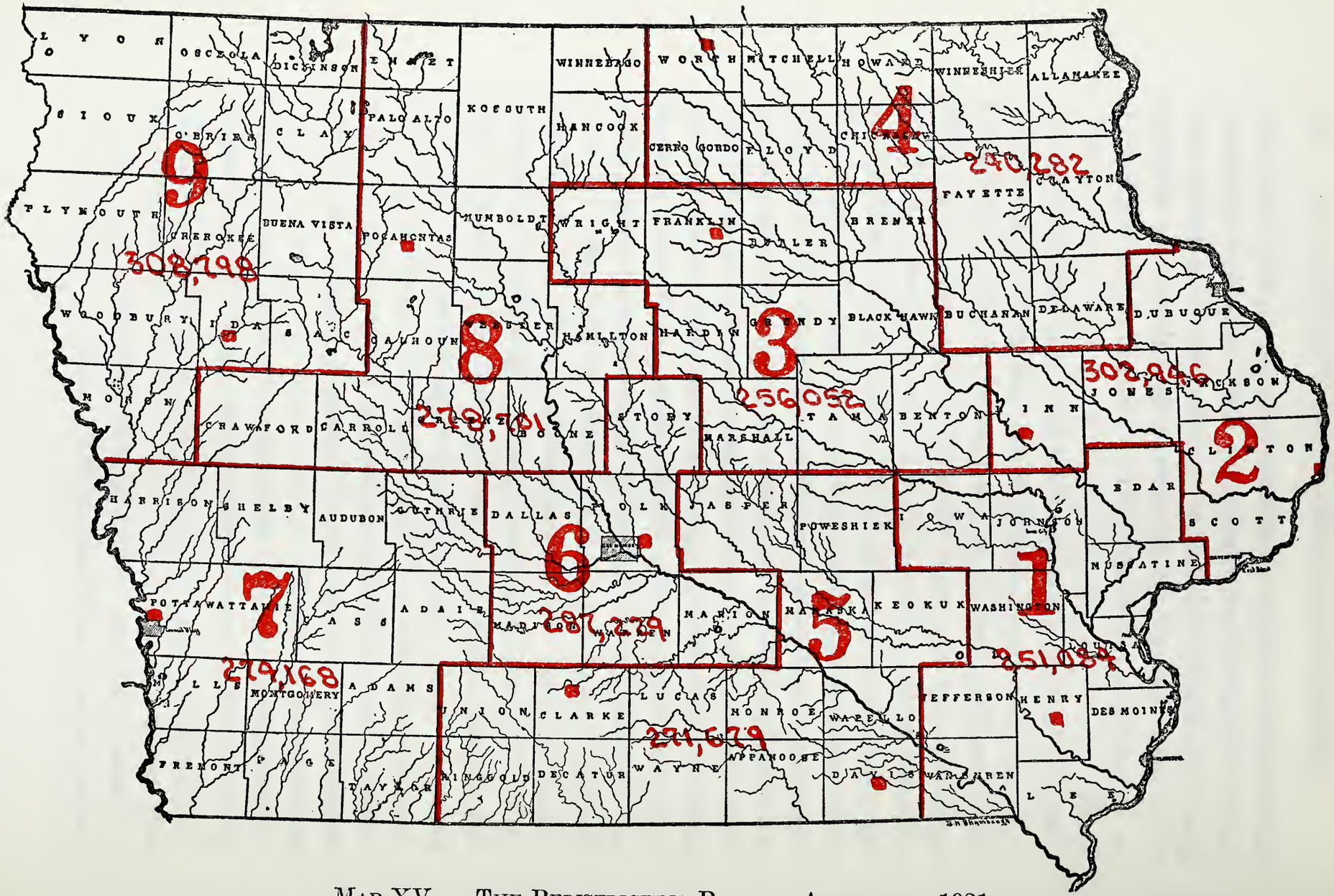
In the Senate the only opposition to the bill came from C. F. Clark of Linn County, who objected strenuously to the placing of his home area in the second district with Dubuque, Scott, Clinton, and Jackson counties. "The proposed second district", said Clark, "is as wet as the Mississippi river. To win election to Congress in it, a man would have to speak four languages, English, Bohemian, German and Irish."[58]

Republican support, however, remained firm and the Tamisiea Bill passed the Senate on April 7th, by a vote of

[56] Debate in the House Committee of the Whole, April 1, 1931. The writer was present.

[57] *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 1931, p. 1337.

[58] *The Des Moines Register,* April 8, 1931.



MAP XV — THE REDISTRICTING PLAN AS ADOPTED IN 1931
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

36 to 8.[59] The finishing touch was applied by the signature of Governor Dan W. Turner four days later. It was now definitely settled that in 1932 Iowa would select her nine congressmen from the districts as provided in the Tamisiea plan.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE TAMISIEA REDISTRICTING LAW

A study of the political map of Iowa after the amended Tamisiea-Anderson plan received Governor Turner's signature reveals several characteristics: (1) the district lines, although still far from regular, divide the State into much more compact units than the old eleven district arrangement; (2) the population spread between the various districts is at present 68,000, with future trends indicating a much greater variation in years to come;[60] (3) eight of the nine districts appear to possess heavy Republican strength, while the second district is doubtful; (4) Representatives Cole and Thurston, of the new second and fifth districts, are the two present Congressmen who will probably lose their seats in the House of Representatives; (5) with three old districts unchanged and several others remaining very much as they were under the old arrangement, the Tamisiea map presents a striking likeness to the redistricting of 1886.

Territorial Results of the Plan. — Territorially the new redistricting plan has a number of defects which might well have been corrected, had not so many votes been required to pass a measure in the Iowa House. Districts number six, eight, and nine are left unchanged, while the new seventh is altered only by the addition of Adams, Taylor, Page, and Fremont counties. (See Map No. 15). One of the better features of the Tamisiea plan, however, is that it destroys

[59] *Journal of the Senate,* 1931, p. 1229.

[60] *Iowa Official Register,* 1919 to 1930.

the old "monkey-wrench" third district, and from the old third and fifth districts a new and more compact unit is formed. Yet descriptive appellations have already been appended to one new Iowa district. Representative Wearin suggests that the new fifth district, from its general appearance, might be termed the "fish-hook" district.[61] Evidences of gerrymandering are not entirely absent.

It is generally considered that all points within a congressional district should be easily accessible to the members of the district along natural routes. Under the new arrangement, however, a journey from Union County to Jasper County in the new fifth district would necessitate moving directly through the heart of the sixth district. Likewise Worth and Buchanan counties in district number four, Scott and Linn counties in the second, and Crawford and Winnebago counties in the new eighth are separated by other Iowa districts. This predicament might have been avoided by a compact political division without regard to party and county desires.

Population in the New Iowa Districts. — An outstanding defect of the Tamisiea Bill may be readily discovered by a study of the population chart for 1930 and an investigation of the future possibilities of population growth in Iowa. Obviously, equality and fairness have been sacrificed at the altar of expediency, for the purpose of obtaining votes enough to pass the measure.

It has been generally conceded in past years that an Iowa congressional district should include at least one of the urban centers of the State, and that each of the larger cities should, if possible, be placed within separate districts. In this respect, the Tamisiea map forsakes the beaten path

[61] Address of Representative Otha D. Wearin before the Iowa Political Science Association at Cedar Falls, on May 1, 1931.

of custom. District number two includes the four cities of Davenport, Clinton, Cedar Rapids, and Dubuque, each of them large enough to be the nucleus of a district. An abnormal growth of population within such a district might result in still more unfair representation in the years to come. It is interesting to note that should the population continue to increase at the present rate and should the present redistricting plan remain in force for the next forty years as the last plan did, the Iowa districts would contain the following number of people:[62]

District	*1930*	*1950*	*1970*
No. 1	251,084	256,736	262,388
No. 2	302,946	332,584	362,222
No. 3	256,052	280,904	305,756
No. 4	240,282	241,080	241,878
No. 5	271,679	249,329	226,979
No. 6	287,229	334,971	382,713
No. 7	274,168	294,528	314,888
No. 8	278,701	289,289	299,877
No. 9	308,798	335,496	362,194

Thus the first and fourth districts, which are made up for the main part of rural counties not likely to have any considerable increase in population, are given small populations instead of the surplus they should have. On the other hand, districts number two and six, which are the areas of most rapid growth in Iowa today, already include a relatively large number of people.

Political Considerations. — Politically the Tamisiea redistricting plan is almost a complete triumph for the Republican interests. An examination of the congressional vote in Iowa during the past decade discloses that only the second district has any Democratic potentialities.[63] And

[62] *Iowa Official Register,* 1919 to 1930.

[63] Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.

even in the second district, now considered Democratic, only Dubuque County, with a ten year average Democratic majority of 705 votes, has consistently returned a Democratic vote. In fact, the Democratic counties are said to be more "wet" than Democratic. And, as Representative Otha D. Wearin commented in a recent address, in the mixing of Dubuque County Irish-Catholics and Scott and Clinton German Protestants, party strength may suffer.[64] A political battle may also be waged between the Republicans in Cedar Rapids and the faction composing Davenport's Republican forces. And so with factions and non-party issues playing an important rôle, party power in the new second district is indeed difficult to predict. Representative Wearin of Mills County suggested that it "would be a toss up".[65]

The nearest any of the other districts come to affording opposition to the Republican power in Iowa, is indicated by the vote for Congressmen for the decade from 1920-1930. The new third district, one of the districts in which the Democratic party is strongest, cast a Republican majority vote of 9266 in 1930, while the new seventh returned about the same Republican majority.[66] Within the next few years at least, it will be difficult for the Democratic party in Iowa to receive representation in Congress in proportion to voting strength. A table showing the vote in the various counties for the past ten years gives some idea of the voting strength of the two major parties. The counties are grouped according to the new districts.

[64] Address of Representative Wearin before the Iowa Political Science Association at Cedar Falls, on May 1, 1931.

[65] Address of Representative Wearin before the Iowa Political Science Association at Cedar Falls, on May 1, 1931.

[66] Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.

CONGRESSIONAL VOTE FOR THE PAST DECADE IN COUNTIES AS GROUPED IN NINE NEW DISTRICTS, SHOWING MAJORITIES RECEIVED BY THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES[67]

First District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Lee	1010	2177	4991	2121	11274*	2266	3973
Van Buren	2221	1429	2545	1985	4004*	1047	2205
Jefferson	2369	2067	3316	1888	4901*	2257	2799
Henry	3018	1651	3693	2855	5514*	1929	3110
Des Moines	3339	2357	5076	3138	11007*	360	4212
Louisa	2094	1162	2592	1857	3250*	1762	2119
Washington	3073	1752	3398	2106	5856*	1894	3013
Muscatine	7845	937	2190	2236	4530	1460	3199
Cedar	5624	1851	2791	2373	2283	686	2601
Johnson	5724*	270–	489	27–	694–	529–	782
Iowa	4662	755	1147	152	1152	594	1610
			Total Average Majority				29,623

Second District

Scott	14982	1028–	7957	2930	4647	1275–	4702
Clinton	6988*	976	3569	3112	1927	5503–	1844
Jackson	4073*	460	1222	1185	687	642–	1164
Dubuque	12020*	4383–	1507–	34–	8910–	1420–	705–
Linn	20231*	8458	14183	7950	12186	1216	10701
Jones	5880*	1331	2131	1418	1928	322	2168
			Total Average Majority				19,874

Third District

Wright	5770*	2298	4216	2409	3289	1108	3181
Franklin	4160*	1237	2753	2030	2801	1271	2375
Butler	5775*	1438	3308	1636	3194	1349	2783
Bremer	3939*	681–	1906	1258	1172	28–	1261
Hardin	6113*	1902	3818	2496	3961	1575	3310
Grundy	4514*	2274	2033	1716	2299	714	2258
Black Hawk	16208*	4063	8092	3469	10910	2925	7611
Marshall	9187*	1246	5591	2714	5463	170–	4005
Tama	6260*	1442	1018	1487	708	25	1823
Benton	6448*	1180	2258	1332	1961	497	2269
			Total Average Majority				30,876

[67] All figures not marked in any way indicate Republican majorities. Democratic majorities are designated by a line following the figure. All figures marked with an asterisk indicate that there was no Democratic candidate for Congress that year. Minor party votes have been disregarded in this table.

Fourth District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Worth	2813	984	2422	850	1538	399	1501
Mitchell	3396	881	2674	932	1766	1636	1880
Howard	1624	431	1266	17	170	296	634
Winneshiek	3917	1012	2456	1061	617	331–	1455
Allamakee	2729	294	1605	802	1444	297	1195
Cerro Gordo	5766	906	7452	1616	5717	2077	3922
Floyd	4851	1042	4392	1440	2094	1308	2521
Chickasaw	1562	221	1050	210	133	270	677
Fayette	4828	2538	5221	2502	3650	2140	3469
Clayton	3593	255–	1627	1105	1841	896	1436
Buchanan	6187*	1891	3371	2668	2627	1576	3053
Delaware	5713	2449	3751	2552	2512	1834	3136
			Total Average Majority				24,878

Fifth District

Jasper	2785	968	4829	2741	5178	1982	3060
Poweshiek	3525	1345	3341	2419	2913	1762	2550
Mahaska	3083	1983	3748	2402	2058	2206	2579
Keokuk	3083	1707	2480	141	1785	718	1580
Union	4697	151	2216	1626	1803	371	1810
Clarke	3110*	788	109	1487	1094	251	1139
Lucas	3889*	1022	961	1048	1683	280	1480
Monroe	2036	1965	3003	2168	1698	1725	2097
Wapello	5170	2758	5464	3631	5828	2172	4203
Ringgold	3764	656	1898	1508	1446	138	1568
Decatur	4382	322–	785	611	730	320–	977
Wayne	4318	857	591	618	786	68	1206
Appanoose	6364	1740	2981	112	2857	1350	2567
Davis	857	487	1007	272	734	1501–	301
			Total Average Majority				27,117

Sixth District

Story	8370*	556	4968	2902	7601*	2204	4433
Dallas	6390*	1958	4118	1963	7357*	3465	4208
Polk	35409*	8973	31150	13654	42054*	14543	26297
Madison	4379*	266	2161	1516	4132*	1762	2352
Warren	5342*	1708	2977	2305	5272*	1942	3257
Marion	5205*	554	2722	1564	5988*	1427	2910
			Total Average Majority				43,457

Seventh District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Harrison	4240	1041	1743	1092	519	169	1467
Shelby	3271	564	721	122	73	97–	775
Audubon	2422	1371	1660	1219	539	111	1210
Guthrie	4334	2040	2845	2018	2702	1818	2626
Pottawattamie	6231	1648	6728	3278	5247	1407	4164
Cass	6022	2660	4221	2490	3697	1924	3502
Adair	3402	1711	3108	2361	2464	1472	2419
Mills	3151	783	1629	1102	1295	246–	1285
Montgomery	4278	217	3757	1854	3336	728	2361
Adams	3020	378–	698	854	353	36–	751
Fremont	3739	258	853	120–	219	713–	703
Page	7022*	2716	3972	2193	2075	458	3072
Taylor	5039	415–	1837	1888	1318	260–	1567
			Total Average Majority				25,902

Eighth District

Emmet	3405*	1773	2718	1601*	3369*	1361	2371
Palo Alto	3667*	1333	2649	2813*	3587*	1236	2547
Kossuth	6016*	3174	3691	3326*	5400*	1402	3834
Winnebago	3744*	1871	3111	2026*	3447*	1711	2635
Hancock	3269*	1971	3177	2255*	3311*	1762	2624
Pocahontas	3958*	902	1616	3038*	3101*	1919	2425
Humboldt	3417*	1521	2698	1689*	2928*	1119	2228
Calhoun	5022*	1692	2660	2705*	3858*	1452	2898
Webster	5958*	1586	2980	5174*	7988*	154–	3922
Hamilton	5803*	2745	4572	3095*	4699*	1651	3760
Crawford	4647*	772	1408	3058*	3472*	200	2259
Greene	4592*	2045	3772	2141*	3829	1316	2969
Boone	6948*	3088	4563	3498*	6398*	2986	4580
			Total Average Majority				39,052

Ninth District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Buena Vista	3632	1284	2002	2070	3668	2164	2470
Cherokee	2998	1265–	1103	703	2336	1690	1260
Clay	3428	1530	1884	2106	2615	2375	2316
Dickinson	2583	833	1476	962	1745	952	1425
Ida	1554	1185	399–	1788	2255	2106	1414

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Lyon	2385	765	352	981	2140	1612	1372
Monona	2156	536	633	1083	1508	1472	1231
O'Brien	3179	463	1309	1990	3221	1493	1962
Osceola	1240	517	38–	177	917	956	628
Plymouth	2796	776	44	141	1213	1149	1019
Sac	3517	1722	1998	1911	3271	1435	2309
Sioux	3862	1954	1394	617	4007	1790	2270
Woodbury	3086	1723	9348	1310	139	5083	3448
				Total Average Majority			23,124

These figures do not, of course, indicate exactly the relative strength of the two parties in the new districts, since local jealousies and affiliations may operate differently in the new grouping of counties.

With the redistricting of the State accomplished, Representative Cole of Cedar Rapids "finds his home county, Linn, and the adjoining county, Jones, all he has left of his present district".[68] The remaining counties of the new second district are Scott, Clinton, Jackson, and Dubuque. Ordinarily, Dubuque County's heavy Democratic vote counted for little in the old "monkey-wrench" third, but "in a district with Clinton and Scott, Dubuque's Democratic vote would be a powerful aid to a candidate from that county".[69] Such a statement indicates that even if the Democrats should be in the majority, Representative Jacobsen may not return to the House of Representatives after 1932, since a Dubuque County Democrat would be the logical choice for his successor.

In the new fifth district Representative Thurston, in Clarke County, and Representative Ramseyer, in Davis County, are thrown together in a district which contains all of Ramseyer's former supporting counties. Mr. Thurs-

[68] *The Des Moines Register,* April 3, 1931.

[69] *The Des Moines Register,* April 3, 1931.

ton still has seven of his old counties in the new district but his chances for reëlection are considered exceedingly small, for the Ramseyer counties contain a larger share of the voting strength. Moreover, Ramseyer has had a longer congressional experience, and has a larger party following than Thurston has. "Merely the chance of geography", remarked Mr. Thurston, when asked what he thought of the new measure.[70]

The remaining Congressmen are left either in their old districts or in districts which do not greatly harm their chances of reëlection. Party power has thus far protected their interests, and very likely the 1932 primary election returns will indicate their future victory.

With all its faults, the Tamisiea redistricting plan might have been worse. It must be remembered that the measure passed the House because it pleased sixty of the one hundred and eight Iowa Representatives, even though its provisions were unsatisfactory to the remaining members. Had no measure been passed at all, it would have been necessary to have elected Iowa's nine Representatives from the State at large in 1932, and even further political complications would have resulted. As it is, the districts are fairly compact and the population passably equal. It remains for future years and future generations to produce a governmental system which will, as our political thinkers advocate, acknowledge and respect the fundamental principles of representation.

SUGGESTED PLANS

The reconstruction of the congressional districts in Iowa is made extremely difficult because of the various factors that influence legislators in framing any redistricting bill.

[70] Interview with Representative Lloyd Thurston in Des Moines, on April 1, 1931.

In the first place the laws of the United States require that congressional districts be nearly equal in population and of contiguous territory.[71] These two requirements are fairly easy to meet in Iowa, if other considerations could be eliminated. The three factors which most commonly prevent the formation of a logical and fair districting plan are: first, the political requirements of the party in power; second, the political and social relationships between the various counties; and third, the struggle of Congressmen now in office to retain their seats. When, as in the redistricting of 1931, some Congressmen are to be lost, this problem of course is more acute.

What would be an ideal plan of congressional districting? There are two possibilities. One is to assign the counties to the various districts so that the new districts would be almost equal in population — with some consideration for growth of population — and as symmetrical as possible, with due consideration to transportation facilities and centers of interest. A second plan would involve a change in the representation scheme and would require a smaller number of districts with several Congressmen from each, elected by proportional representation.

An Ideal Redistricting Plan Under the Present Law. — This proposed plan for redistricting Iowa into nine districts is based entirely upon territorial unity, equality of population, and natural interests. The desire of one party to secure as many Congressmen as possible and the desire of Congressmen in office to succeed themselves have been disregarded. Such a non-partisan system of districts is shown on Map No. 16. Under the Federal census for 1930, the average population in each of the nine new districts

[71] THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, p. 343; *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XII, p. 572.

should be 274,548, and a reference to the map shows that the plan suggested conforms closely to this figure.[72]

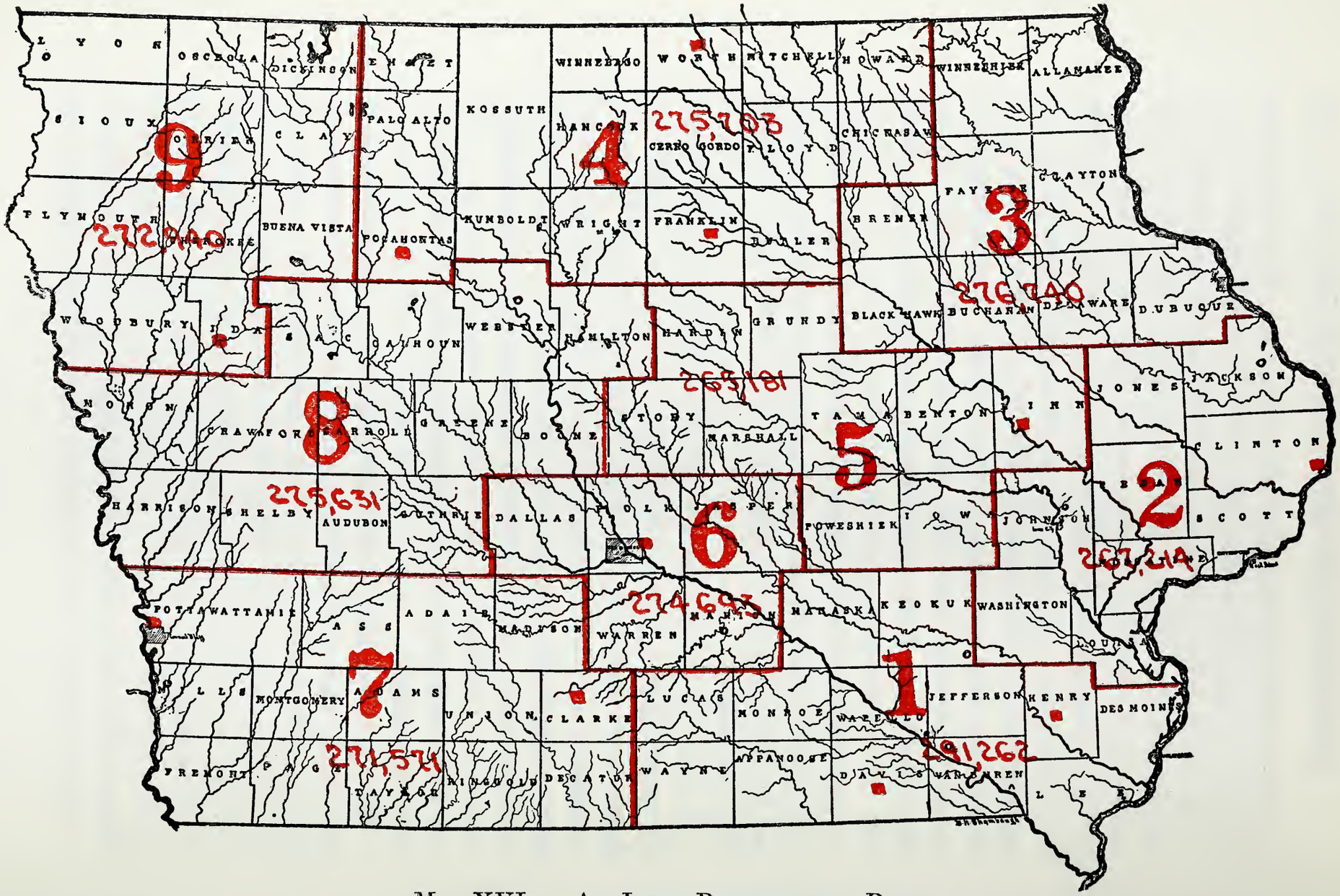
The chief defect seems to be found in the proposed first district which includes 291,262 people. This surplus is probably desirable, however, on account of the rapid decrease in population in the southeastern counties. In 1920 the thirteen counties included in the district boasted a total population of approximately 306,000, but during the past decade the area has lost at the rate of over a thousand people each year. By 1950, this loss would tend to bring the population of the district to a comparative even level with the remaining eight districts.

The remainder of the State shows a fairly steady increase in population, and this arrangement of districts might therefore be more permanent than if it were based upon entirely static conditions.

A study of Maps No. 15 and 16 shows the fairness of the model plan so far as territory is concerned. Although there is no statutory provision that the area of the Iowa congressional districts should be equal — and indeed as long as population remains the chief consideration, it might be impractical to have it so — the increase in the number of people residing in the western counties seems to be gradually bringing about a greater equality as to the area of the districts.

The counties are, as nearly as possible, naturally grouped into the border and central districts, and each district includes within its boundaries like interests and pursuits. In this latter respect the State of Iowa presents almost no problem at all, for its people, in the main, follow agricultural occupations and there is very little diversity of interest. However, it will be noticed that the Mississippi River cities and counties are grouped in districts number

[72] *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP XVI — AN IDEAL REDISTRICTING PLAN
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

one, two, and three, and that the mining interests, cattle counties, and manufacturing areas are placed largely within their own district boundary lines.

To suggest such a district as the fourth district of the model plan is politically useless, but the irregular division lines created by former redistricting measures must sometime be adjusted.

The plan here presented indicates only one fairly possible Democratic victory, and that in the second district. In fact, so evenly is the Democratic vote distributed throughout the State, it is almost impossible to fairly return more than one Democratic majority from the nine congressional districts. This is true no matter how the dividing lines are twisted and turned.

In this struggle of Politics versus Population, it may be easily seen that this model plan takes the side of population. It has also largely disregarded the political complications that must necessarily arise when eleven Iowa Congressmen desire to keep their seats and not more than nine may do so. County desires, too, are for the most part disregarded. Iowa's population has shifted considerably in the last half century so that many old associations are no longer natural. New industries have arisen, new population centers have developed, and the counties should naturally be grouped into the central and border districts. New relationships should be allowed to develop.

A Plan Involving Proportional Representation. — Ernest Naville, the eminent Swiss publicist, wrote in 1865, "In a democratic government, the right of decision belongs to the majority, but the right of representation belongs to all."[73] Especially should that maxim be respected in this century, for in 1921 the average cost of government to each

[73] Hoag and Hallett's *Proportional Representation,* Introduction, p. xi.

man, woman, and child in cities of 30,000 and over in the United States was about $96.16.[74] With the upkeep of governmental institutions leaning so heavily upon the purse of the electorate, their right to representation should not be denied. Yet in Iowa, the representation of the electorate has proven far from being equitable. Since 1846 the minority party has cast enough votes to entitle it to forty members in the House, while in reality only eighteen Democratic candidates have been elected.

Under the existing scheme of government within the State, a truly equitable election is impossible. Iowa's single-member districts prevent adequate minority representation. The only remedy lies in establishing a new system of representation, that is, the election of representatives from multi-member districts, with proportional representation.

The plan here proposed, as shown by Map No. 17, has been designed to fit the existing conditions found in Iowa. It is not suggested that such an arrangement would suit every State. Varying conditions necessarily alter the governmental form, and this plan might be entirely unfit for some other State. While a complete explanation of the plan and its technicalities is not possible here, a brief description of the results of such an arrangement and its advantages over the old system of selection may be an appropriate conclusion for this study of Iowa congressional districting.

Because of the fact that Iowa has been allotted nine Representatives beginning in 1932, a three district division, with each district electing three representatives, would be a logical plan. The State is thus divided into a Mississippi River district, a central district, and a western district, each area comprising a fairly compact unit. District number

[74] Hoag and Hallett's *Proportional Representation,* Introduction, p. xi.

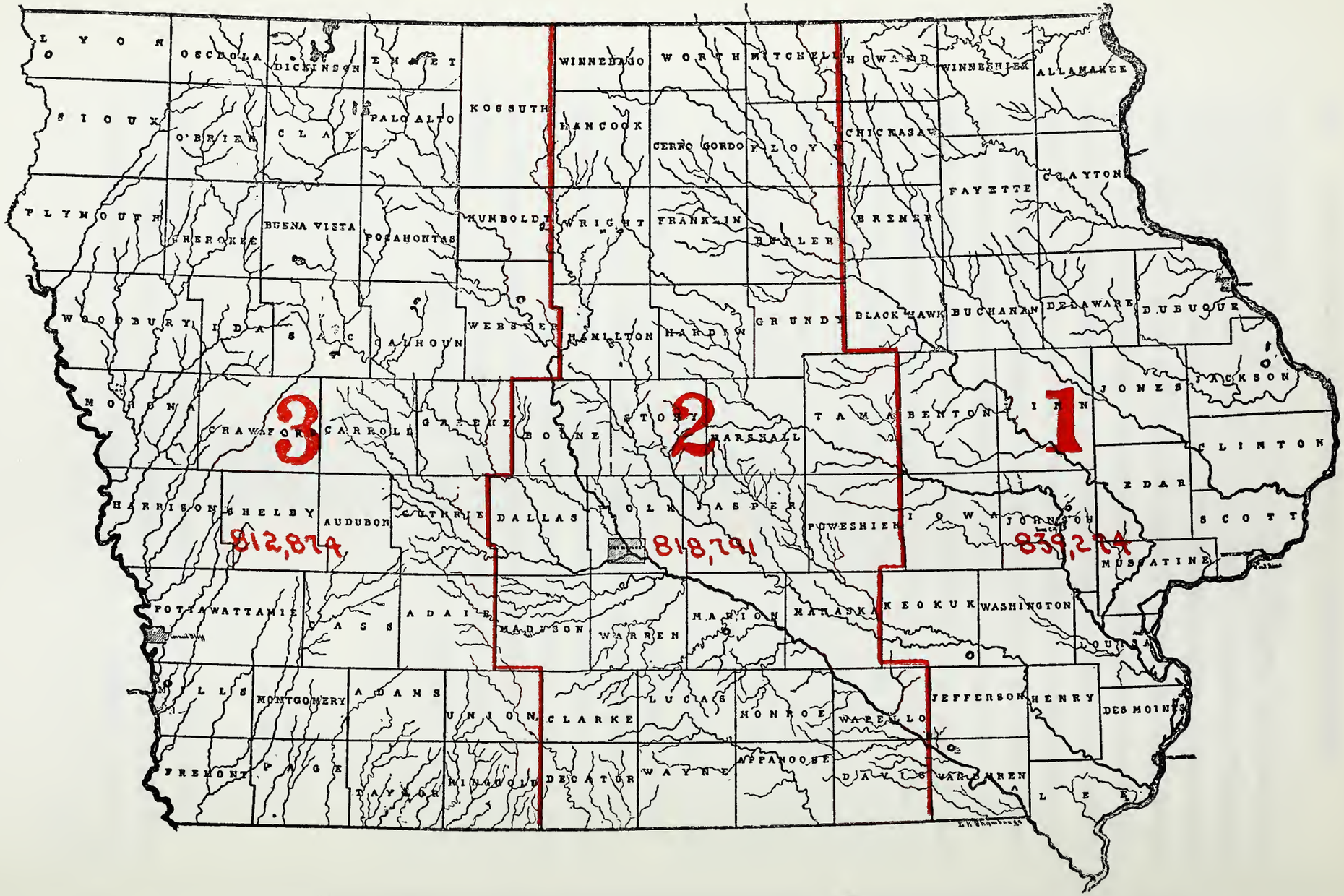
one includes roughly the present first, second, and fourth districts (under the Tamisiea redistricting plan), with the Mississippi area dominating. The second district includes the major portions of the third, fifth, and sixth districts, with the city of Des Moines as the political center. Most of districts seven, eight, and nine are embraced within the boundary lines of the western district, with Fort Dodge, Council Bluffs, and Sioux City forming the urban areas.

The territorial division suggested above results in a very fair distribution of the State so far as population is concerned. The three districts contain, under the 1930 census, 839,274, 818,791, and 812,874 people respectively. Population trends indicate, too, that the growth of the districts in the future would be on a comparatively even level, for while each district is made up dominantly of agricultural territory, it includes some urban counties in which the number of inhabitants is steadily increasing.

Under the Hare System of Proportional Representation — a system using the single transferable vote in multi-member districts, with first, second, third, and perhaps fourth choices indicated by the voter, the Republican and Democratic parties would ordinarily return Representatives from the three districts on a ratio of two to one. In 1930 the Congressional vote from the three districts was as follows:

District	*Democratic*	*Republican*
First	91,038	108,552
Second	52,849	108,569
Third	63,799	104,581
Total	207,686	321,702

This would have meant the election of two Republican and one Democratic Congressmen from each district, or six Republicans and three Democrats from the State at large.



MAP XVII — DISTRICTS FOR PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

With only three members elected from each district, it would be difficult, indeed, for a third party to secure any Representatives in Congress, unless it procured the strength necessary to carry approximately one-third of the votes cast in the district. It would be difficult, also, for the majority party to gain all the seats. Thus the two-party system would undoubtedly remain intact for many years, and each of the two major parties would be represented very nearly according to their strength in the district. Even though the plan advanced here may be improved technically, it does fit the needs of the State.

The Practicability of Such a Plan. — Whether Proportional Representation will ever be adopted in Iowa, time alone will tell. Certainly it is one of the most progressive steps that has been made in the field of representation in recent times. In Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, and many other countries in Europe some form or other of Proportional Representation has been established and is functioning smoothly.

No constitutional amendment would be necessary for the adoption of such a plan in Iowa. It would be necessary, however, for Congress, by statutory provision, to do away with the single member district, and give individual States the right to elect their members at large or from multi-member districts.

Possibly by the time Iowa is again divided into congressional districts, the division may be made with little regard to political considerations, and an arrangement may be made whereby the representative body will be a miniature of the electorate, clearly mirroring the desires of its constituents.

Francis O. Wilcox

State University of Iowa
Iowa City Iowa

ANNIE TURNER WITTENMYER

Seven hundred and fifty sick and wounded soldiers from Sherman's army at Milliken's Bend were packed on the steamboat, *City of Memphis,* on their way to the hospitals at St. Louis. Every space was filled. Some of the men were delirious and their cries mingled with the whir of the wheels and the splash of the waters as the boat, temporarily transformed into a hospital, pushed upstream against the current.

On the floor of one of the cabins a soldier lay on his blanket, his fever-racked head upon his knapsack. A woman, one of the few on that ghastly boat, stepped to his side and asked, "What can I do for you?" "You can write to my wife if you get through alive, and tell her I died on the *City of Memphis*", he replied. The woman took down the name and address, spoke words of encouragement to the sick man, and then asked, "Could you drink a cup of tea?" The man refused. "Could you drink a glass of lemonade?" the woman persisted. The face of the sick man brightened. "Where could you get it?" he asked. "Make it", answered the woman. "I have lemons and sugar, and there is a whole river full of water at hand." The patient drank the lemonade — and lived to thank his benefactor years later. The woman was Mrs. Annie Turner Wittenmyer, Sanitary Agent for the State of Iowa. The soldier was one of the many to whom she ministered during the years of the Civil War.[1]

At this time Mrs. Wittenmyer was a woman in her thirties, with snow-white hair which set off her blue eyes and

[1] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 62-65.

fair complexion.[2] With a gracious, kindly manner she combined a high degree of courage, a strong sense of social responsibility, a deep religious feeling, and an independence rare in the women of that day. The story of her family and early life explains some of these characteristics.

Annie Turner was born at Sandy Springs, Adams County, Ohio, on August 26, 1827. Her father, John G. Turner, was originally from Kentucky, where the family for several generations had been southern gentlemen, planters, and slave-holders on a plantation near Louisville. Her mother, Elizabeth Smith Turner, claimed descent from John Smith, the Virginia soldier of fortune; and Simeon Smith, the grandfather of Annie Turner, had been a soldier in the American Revolution. Both the Turner and Smith families were interested in education.

Annie, one of the older children in the family of John and Elizabeth Turner, seems to have been unusually literary as a child, for her first poetry was published when she was twelve. She was educated at an Ohio seminary, where she received more advanced training than was usual for young women of that time. At the age of twenty Annie Turner became the wife of William Wittenmyer, a merchant of Jacksonville, Ohio. He was a man of considerable wealth, many years older than his wife.

In 1850 the Wittenmyers moved to Keokuk, Iowa, and early in 1851 bought the site for a new home, a large two-story colonial house with a hall running through the center and large double rooms on either side. Three of the four children born to Mr. and Mrs. Wittenmyer died in infancy. One son, Charles A. Wittenmyer, survived his mother for many years.

When Mrs. Wittenmyer came to Keokuk, she found many

[2] Letter from Miss Maymie Turner, dated Keokuk, April 27, 1931. Miss Turner is a niece of Mrs. Wittenmyer, a daughter of Dr. William H. Turner.

children on the streets because their parents could not afford to pay the tuition required in the schools. She felt that something ought to be done about this condition, and it was characteristic of her that feeling found expression in action. She soon converted one of the large upstairs rooms in her home into a schoolroom, hired a teacher, and collected the poor children into this free private school. Indeed, she assisted with the teaching, a task for which she was well fitted both by education and character. Nor was she satisfied with providing a school. Many of the children were dirty and ragged and Mrs. Wittenmyer organized the church women of the town to help wash and clothe them. Later this school was moved to a warehouse where it is said two hundred children were enrolled.

Mrs. Wittenmyer was also interested in establishing a Sunday School in the same building, and she was one of the founders of the Chatham Square Methodist Episcopal Church of Keokuk. She also wrote a number of the hymns used in the services.[3]

And so the days passed until the coming of the Civil War. At that time Annie Turner Wittenmyer was a widow, living with her one surviving child in her comfortable home. Although the Turner family was originally from the slave-holding class in Kentucky, all were whole-hearted in their loyalty to the cause of the Union. Mrs. Wittenmyer's son was a child, too young for military service, but three of her four brothers were soon in service, a fourth being unable to enlist because of physical disability.

Dr. William H. Turner was a surgeon in the Second Iowa Infantry. James P. Turner enlisted in the First Iowa Cavalry, becoming a first lieutenant before the close of the

[3] Letter from Miss Maymie Turner, dated Keokuk, April 27, 1931; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 278, 402; letter from Roy M. Martin, county recorder's office, Keokuk, dated October 3, 1931.

war. The youngest brother, Davis C. Turner, sixteen years old, ran away from home to join his brother's regiment, the First Iowa Cavalry. His age on the roster is given as nineteen.[4]

With three brothers in the service, it was not surprising that Mrs. Wittenmyer was interested in the welfare of the Iowa regiments. Moreover, the location of Keokuk brought to the people in the community an early realization of the meaning of war. To Keokuk, the "Gate City", came news fresh from the camps and battlefields to the south. Company after company, regiment after regiment, embarked at Keokuk or were transported past it to be swallowed up in the sucking, seething maelstrom of the war. Even before the Iowa men embarked the sympathetic women of Keokuk found many needs to supply. To Keokuk, too, came the backwash of the war. As the fighting went on, boat after boat stopped at the wharves of Keokuk, each with its load of men wrecked by wounds and disease. Its hospitals were crowded with soldiers who needed care, food, and clothing.

The organizations for relief work during the Civil War grew slowly, with much duplication and often with jealousies and hard feelings. There was at this time no skeleton organization like the American Red Cross which could be expanded to meet emergencies. Organizations had to be formed from the ground up and of inexperienced and unskilled material.

The women of that time were, as compared with the men, especially inexperienced in coöperation. Organizations of women were few and their membership was small. The women of Keokuk, however, soon realized that individual work for the soldiers was inadequate. To carry on their work more efficiently they organized the Soldiers' Aid So-

[4] *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion,* Vol. I, p. 99, Vol. IV, pp. 183, 184.

ciety of Keokuk, with Mrs. J. B. Howell, the wife of the editor of the Keokuk *Gate City,* as its president, and Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer as secretary. Mrs. Wittenmyer was, in fact, the executive secretary of the organization.[5]

It was not long before the women realized that they needed first hand information concerning the needs of the men in camps and hospitals. This field work at first was incidental to personal visits by women who had husbands, brothers, or sons at the front, but it soon became the regular duty of Mrs. Wittenmyer. In April, 1861, she visited some of the Iowa regiments and wrote a letter to Mrs. Howell in which she explained that the soldiers in the hospitals needed less lint and bandages and more ticks to be filled with straw for mattresses, more pillows, cotton sheets, and cool garments to take the place of the heavy army clothing of the patients. They also needed dried fruits and other delicacies to supplement the army rations of such food as pork, beans, coffee, and bread.[6]

Mrs. Wittenmyer was absent about ten days on this trip, but from that time until the close of the war she spent little time at home. Fortunately her mother and a married sister lived in Keokuk and between them they cared for her young son and her home.[7]

It was not long before societies from other towns began to ask Mrs. Wittenmyer to take charge of their goods. "I must trouble you again, to give me some further information, about the sending of boxes, to the care of Mrs. Wittenmyer", wrote a woman from Iowa City to a friend on June 2, 1861. "I wish to know *exactly* about everything this time, that we may not be delayed as before. We *decidedly* prefer sending our boxes to Mrs. Wittenmyer's care, if she

[5] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 279.

[6] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 279.

[7] Letter from Miss Maymie Turner, dated Keokuk, April 27, 1931.

will allow us, as the confidence of the people here, is very much shaken in the management of the official societies, whether justly or not, — and we can do nothing more here, unless we can create confidence anew, — and this arrangement seems to meet the approbation of all."[8]

Similar letters of inquiry were frequent, but the women seem to have worked quietly and with little publicity. Welfare "drives" received little support from the newspaper and there is no record of posters. On the fifth of August, 1861, a Keokuk paper contained an inconspicuous announcement that Mrs. Wittenmyer had gone to St. Joseph, Missouri, to look after the sick of the Second Iowa Infantry, but not finding them there had followed the regiment to St. Louis.[9] There was no report of what Mrs. Wittenmyer found, but that she carried back to Iowa a message of urgent need seems evident from the increased efforts of the local Soldiers' Aid Society. Among other ways of raising money the women of Keokuk gave an entertainment which netted a little over one hundred and fifty dollars. "That does very well for these hard times", remarked the editor of the paper, "and will do very much to the comfort of the sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals."[10]

But Mrs. Wittenmyer and the women with whom she worked soon realized that the task of furnishing even the minimum supplies for the sick and wounded soldiers of Iowa was a task of more than local scope. On the thirteenth of August, 1861, Mrs. Wittenmyer, as secretary of the Keokuk association, wrote a letter to the women of Des

[8] Letter from C. D. Allen to Mrs. Chittenden, dated Iowa City, June 2, 1861, in the *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer.*

This collection of letters, in eight volumes, is preserved in the library of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department at Des Moines.

[9] *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), August 5, 1861.

[10] *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), August 19, 1861.

Moines inviting them to coöperate in supplying comforts and conveniences urgently needed by the hospitals.[11]

A short time after this the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society published in a Keokuk paper an appeal that the women of Iowa organize and assist in furnishing supplies to the hospitals in which Iowa soldiers were cared for. The appeal continued:

> As our society will be in direct communication with the troops, they will, through their Secretary, transmit to you from time to time such items of intelligence as will advance the interests of your associations . . . .
>
> All packages sent to the "Soldiers' Aid Society," Keokuk, express pre-paid, will be forwarded to their destination free of charge.
>
> For further information address the Corresponding Secretary.

This message was signed by Mrs. J. B. Howell, the president, whose name appears in large capital letters, and by Annie Wittenmyer, Corresponding Secretary. Below the signatures was the notice, "Papers throughout the State please copy."[12]

That some of the men in charge of the sick realized the deficiency of the hospital diet is evident from a letter written to Mrs. Wittenmyer by Brigade Surgeon General E. C. Franklin from the Mound City General Hospital on October 29, 1861, in which he said: "You will pardon me for soliciting your aid & influence on behalf of the sick soldiers in this Hospital. The inability of obtaining proper & suitable dietetic preparations for our invalid patients, such as jellies, preserves, &c has militated very materially against the convalescence of the sick under my charge."[13]

[11] Fullbrook's *Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVI, pp. 197, 198.

[12] *Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), September 16, 1861.

[13] Letter from E. C. Franklin to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Mound City Gen-

Conditions among the sick were described by Mrs. Wittenmyer in a report to the women of Iowa submitted after a tour of the hospitals in the West which she made early in November, 1861. She declared that there was a lack of many stores and supplies which the government intended to furnish but could or did not. Of this she said:

> That there should be a lack of such hospital furniture and stores as the Government proposes to supply, may be a matter of surprise to some, but when we take into consideration that the Government, at the commencement of this war, was almost in a state of disorganization, and that within the compass of a few months, a vast military campaign has been set on foot, involving millions of dollars, and the health and comfort of hundreds of thousands of men, and that the Government has had to contend with an injured credit and hordes of dishonest army contractors, there is little cause to wonder that her supplies are not more bountiful.
>
> But some of our soldiers have still more serious difficulties to contend with, — their surgeons have not made the necessary requisitions, are lacking in moral character, addicted to intemperate habits, or are overbearing to their men and exhibit but little concern for their health, comfort or cleanliness . . . .
>
> Many of our Surgeons are noble men, who will do their duty in the camp or in the field, and are doing all they can for the comfort of their men; but there are others who will best secure the interest of themselves and their men by *resigning their positions immediately.*

Among the things needed for the hospitals Mrs. Wittenmyer listed the following:

"Bed-shirts and drawers, made of canton flannel, bed sacks, pillow-sacks and cases, size for cot, sheets and comfortables, size for cots, yarn socks, slippers, or cloth shoes, towels, lint, bandages, and old linnen [sic] or cotton clothes,

eral Hospital, October 29, 1861, in the *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

wines, jellies, dried or canned fruits, farina, corn starch, &c.''

She also urged that at least two experienced women nurses should be provided for each Iowa regiment to assist in caring for the sick and wounded.[14]

Visiting the military hospitals was no pleasant duty unless the pleasure of giving aid made up for the dangerous and disagreeable experiences. Of the hospital in which she found her youngest brother one January morning, 1862, Mrs. Wittenmyer has left this picture in a book dealing with her war experiences:

> The restless tossing of the fever-stricken ones in the adjoining room, the groans of the wounded, the drip, drip, drip, of the leaking vessels hung above the worst wounded ones to drop water on the bandages and keep them cool and moist, put every nerve on the rack, and pulsated through heart and brain till it seemed as though I should go wild. It was an inside view of the hospitals that made me hate war as I had never known how to hate it before.
>
> The pitiful cry of helpless ones calling, ''Nurse, nurse! water, water!'' and the weary, sleepy nurses making no response — sitting, perhaps, fast asleep, yet willing to do their duty when I aroused them, still rings in my ears.

The surgeon in charge here and the attendants were kind but very much overworked. The acting medical director, however, coming to the hospital too drunk to talk plainly or walk without staggering, ordered that Mrs. Wittenmyer

[14] *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* November 30, 1861; *Anamosa Eureka,* December 13, 1861.

Most of the nursing in the hospitals of the Civil War was done by enlisted men, often convalescent soldiers, who were as inexperienced in nursing as many soldier cooks were in cooking. Some women nurses were assigned by the War Department or served without the formality of enlistment or employment. For accounts of the work of some of these army nurses see Moore's *Women of the War; Their Heroism and Self-Sacrifice* and Brockett and Vaughan's *Woman's Work in the Civil War: A Record of Heroism, Patriotism and Patience.*

be excluded from the hospital except for an hour a day. Fortunately for Mrs. Wittenmyer and her sick brother, her influence with the higher officers was sufficient to have the acting medical director dismissed from service.[15]

Not all the difficulties connected with the relief work were in the camps, however. The "trial and error" methods of organization made inevitable by the inexperience of the workers and the unprecedented magnitude of the task led to misunderstanding and friction among the workers at home.[16]

At first Mrs. Wittenmyer worked as the unofficial executive agent of the aid societies organized by the women in the various communities in Iowa. Her first trips to the camps were made at her own expense, but later the Keokuk Aid Society seems to have assumed responsibility. In March, 1862, the corresponding secretary of the Keokuk Aid Society wrote in a letter to Mrs. Wittenmyer:

"I want to ask what in the world you are exercising your mind so much about your expenses for? Who suspects your honesty madam? . . . . I only asked you for a list of your expenses in order that the Treasurer may be able to make out a report. Some persons have accused the *Society, not you,* of spending too much money in keeping an agent in the field & we wished to make a report that every body might *see how little we had paid for that purpose.* The Society does not wish you to feel disturbed or distressed in mind on account of your expenses; & I can assure you that nobody imagines that you spend our money for oysters & mint juleps, or theater tickets so I do beg of you to set your heart entirely at rest upon this subject."[17]

[15] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 73-75.

[16] See Fullbrook's *Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVI, pp. 155-274.

[17] Letter from Miss L. Knowles to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Keokuk, March

On October 13, 1861, Governor Kirkwood appointed thirteen prominent citizens of the State as members of the Army Sanitary Commission for the State of Iowa, usually known as the Iowa Sanitary Commission. This group, it was expected, would do for Iowa soldiers what the United States Sanitary Commission was doing for the army as a whole.

No women were named on the new commission; indeed the fact that women's organizations were already doing relief work was ignored. This seems to have aroused some criticism. *The Weekly Gate City* of Keokuk printed a long editorial, including the following:

> All at once, many months after the Iowa First had fought, bled and died, and several weeks after the Ladies' Aid Association had furnished valuable information to the public and stores of necessary articles to the hospitals, an idea seems to have struck our State authorities. This thing must be stopped; there is a great deal of glory running to waste in this matter, and we must make haste to bottle it up for distribution amongst our HONORABLES. Besides, there is a chance for salaries and fees in carrying out this benevolent measure which may be parcelled out to the wealthy men of the State, and then there are printing jobs for which the State can pay and thereby secure the services of the editors of Iowa to puff our Honorables and glorify our tardy benevolence to our sick and wounded soldiers . . . .
>
> This Commission have issued a circular to the women of Iowa, in which they ignore the existence of any Soldiers' Aid Society, and *scold* because nothing has been done in the State by the ladies to relieve the sick and wounded soldiers. And we presume that the gentlemen constituting the Commission have taken so little interest in the subject that they were substantially in entire ignorance of what has been done.[18]

4, 1862, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[18] *The Weekly Gate City* (Keokuk), November 25, 1861. The members of

Thus there were two groups functioning in relief work in Iowa — the Army Sanitary Commission, made up of prominent men appointed unofficially by the Governor, and the loosely knit women's organization who looked to Mrs. Wittenmyer for leadership. The system naturally caused hard feelings. Mrs. Wittenmyer, under the auspices of the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society, had already sent out appeals to the women of the State for money, clothing, and food for the sick and wounded soldiers. Now came the Army Sanitary Commission with similar appeals. The women in the communities throughout the State were confused and perplexed. Some of them thought Mrs. Wittenmyer and the Army Sanitary Commission were working together. In April, 1863, Mrs. Amelia Bloomer of Council Bluffs wrote a long letter to Mrs. Wittenmyer asking for information on this point and explaining that the aid society in Council Bluffs had transferred its support to the Commission because it understood that it received more "credit" for supplies sent through its agency. Mrs. Bloomer, an ardent feminist, declared that she rejoiced at Mrs. Wittenmyer's position and added that she had opposed the movement to withdraw from Mrs. Wittenmyer and give "all their support and confidence to a society of men".[19]

"The Sanitary Commission have sent us some more circulars requesting in the most urgent manner that we shall send them supplies", wrote the secretary of the Keokuk

the Army Sanitary Commission named at this time were: Dr. J. C. Hughes, Rev. George F. Magoun, Hiram Price, Rev. A. J. Kynett, Elijah Sells, Bishop Lee, George G. Wright, Bishop Smyth, Caleb Baldwin, Rev. G. B. Jocelyn, Wm. F. Coolbaugh, Ezekiel Clark, and Lincoln Clark. — Fullbrook's *Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVI, p. 199.

[19] Letter from Mrs. Amelia Bloomer to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Council Bluffs, April 20, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

Society early in 1862. "Mr. Estabrook, Chaplain of the 15th Regt called to see Mrs. Graham & asked for a list of the societies that we correspond with & obtained supplies from. Of course he did not obtain it . . . . He is in the interest of the San. Com."[20]

A little later the same woman wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer to say that the Keokuk Society was running out of funds. Why not expose the inefficiency of the State Sanitary Commission, she suggested, and ask for the support of persons contributing to its work — and ask aid from the Governor.[21]

In an attempt to iron out the difficulty, Mrs. Wittenmyer called a convention of relief workers which met at Davenport early in July, 1862. It was agreed that the correspondence of both agencies should be handled jointly by A. J. Kynett, a member and the corresponding secretary of the Sanitary Commission and Miss L. Knowles, the corresponding secretary of the Keokuk Soldiers' Aid Society.[22]

This compromise apparently satisfied neither group. In a speech before the Ladies' Aid Society of Iowa City in July, 1862, Mrs. Wittenmyer stated in answer to a request, that the Sanitary Commission, although it had received money from the State in addition to gifts, had no agent in the field, while she traveled constantly and without pay.[23]

The convention also agreed to send a delegation — including Mrs. Wittenmyer — to the Governor to urge that he appoint some one to assist Mrs. Wittenmyer in the field

[20] Letter of Miss L. Knowles to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Keokuk, March 4, 1862, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[21] Letter of Miss L. Knowles to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Keokuk, March 21, 1862, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[22] Fullbrook's *Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVI, pp. 209, 210.

[23] *The State Press* (Iowa City), July 12, 1862.

work. It appears that Ira M. Gifford was appointed as a temporary assistant at this time, and on September 11, 1862, the General Assembly in special session passed a law making it the duty of the Governor to appoint two or more Sanitary Agents for the State, one of whom, it was expressly stated in the law, should be Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer. The Governor was also authorized to fix and pay the salaries and expenses of these State Agents and to provide State funds for the purchase and transportation of supplies for the sick and wounded Iowa soldiers.[24]

Mr. Gifford continued to serve as one of the Sanitary Agents under the new law, and it appears that at least two other men were appointed to serve with him — John Clark and Dr. Ennis. Dr. Ennis received $100 per month. Later he seems to have been succeeded by Dr. A. S. Maxwell, who was paid $140 per month. Clark appears to have served without pay. Just how much work these men did, it is hard to say. Apparently they made rounds of the camps, reported to the Governor, and furnished political contacts. Mrs. Wittenmyer continued to be the chief organizer of the relief work. Her salary, which seems to have been fixed by the Governor, was $100 per month during her service as State Sanitary Agent.[25]

It is doubtful, however, if the position of Mrs. Wittenmyer was actually much changed by this law. She had already been recognized by many of the men in command of the army in the West as an official representative of Iowa relief organizations. In most cases Mrs. Wittenmyer had been given free transportation for herself and goods and even free telegraph service. In July, 1862, she wrote

[24] *Laws of Iowa,* 1862 (Extra Session), Ch. 36.

[25] Fullbrook's *Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XVI, p. 210; *Reports of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, State Sanitary Agent; also Special Message of Governor Wm. M. Stone,* pp. 32, 33, 38, in *Iowa Legislative Documents,* 1864, Vol. II.

to Governor Kirkwood: "You will please secure me a pass from the Secretary of War, for myself and goods, at *your earliest* convenience so that it may reach me before I go south."[26]

Mrs. Wittenmyer continued as State Sanitary Agent for almost two years. Her public work during this period seems to have been continuous and arduous. Considering the difficulties, the lack of organization, and the magnitude of the task, it appears also to have been efficient, although at no time during the Civil War was relief work at all adequate to the needs of the soldiers. Indeed, it is doubtful if mercy can ever keep up with the hardships and cruelty of war.

A collection of the war correspondence of Mrs. Wittenmyer now in the Library of the Historical Department at Des Moines, gives some idea of the work this woman did. There are letters from mothers asking her for news of missing sons or husbands, from men also interested in sons or friends, from women who wanted work in the hospitals, from aid societies asking for instructions. Hawkins Taylor wrote from Washington, "In your *glorious* work of looking after the Iowa soldiers you may find a little nephew of mine who is with Col. J. A. McDowell of the 6th Iowa .... If he is wounded try and see that he is properly cared for & if dead try and have Col. McDowell have the spot marked so that I may secure his body."[27]

Letters describing the donations from the various aid societies indicate that the women must have worked heroically and sacrificed a great deal. A communication from

[26] Copy of a letter from Mrs. Wittenmyer to Governor Kirkwood, dated Keokuk, July 15, 1862, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[27] Letter from Hawkins Taylor to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Washington, April 16, 1862, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

New London, Henry County, enumerated among the contributions shipped to Mrs. Wittenmyer the following: 3 jars of blackberries, 1 jar of butter, 2 jars of "plumb" butter, 1 jar of currants, 2 jugs of preserves, 1 jug of tomatoes, 1 can of cherries, 1 bottle of mustard, 1 package each of dried cherries, grapes, blackberries, plums, and apples, and a lot of books and magazines.[28]

A Quaker wrote from Springdale that he was sending a box containing, among other things, seven shirts, two pairs of drawers, lint and bandages, one small pillow, two rolls of butter, dried currants, grapes, plums, and gooseberries. He added, "Although a stranger I have implicit confidence in thee".[29]

The distribution of supplies was of itself a perplexing task. What soldiers needed them most and how much should be sent to each hospital or camp? Mrs. Wittenmyer tells an amusing story of her experience in distributing potatoes. During the summer of 1862 the Soldiers' Aid Society of Muscatine had planted some land in potatoes. The yield of this "Sanitary Potato Patch" was large. Some fifteen hundred bushels of potatoes were later sent in one shipment to St. Louis to be distributed by Mrs. Wittenmyer wherever they were most needed. Many of the soldiers were suffering from scurvy and the potatoes were very welcome. At Island No. 10 she put off a hundred bushels with the injunction that they must be divided equally among the officers and men of an Iowa regiment stationed there — more than a thousand men in all.

When she came back up the river a few days later and

[28] List in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[29] Letter from George Moore to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Springdale, January 31, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

stopped at Island No. 10 she was at once surrounded by soldiers who reported that they had had only three messes of potatoes and that the officers had eaten most of them. "I was indignant", said Mrs. Wittenmyer, "and went directly to the colonel's headquarters with the complaint." The quartermaster was summoned. "You only gave us one hundred bushels of potatoes", he said, "how long did you think they would last?" When Mrs. Wittenmyer hazarded one month, he explained that there were ten companies of one hundred men each in the regiment. Each company had been given ten bushels of potatoes, but one-tenth of a bushel of potatoes for each soldier meant only two or three messes. When Mrs. Wittenmyer admitted that this was so, he added, "I see that you are not accustomed to feeding armies." A few minutes later Mrs. Wittenmyer was explaining to the disgruntled soldiers that they got so few potatoes because there were too many men.[30]

This was not the only difficulty Mrs. Wittenmyer had with potatoes though not with the same shipment. Some time in the spring or summer of 1863, stories were circulated at Keokuk to the effect that potatoes, obtained through Mrs. Wittenmyer, had been sold by the surgeon of the Twenty-second Iowa to the sutler. The surgeon wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer denying the charge and the sutler declared that he had never purchased potatoes from the surgeon at any time.[31]

There seems, indeed, to have been some organized campaign to discredit Mrs. Wittenmyer during the spring and summer of 1863. Early in February a letter, signed by W. Emonds, was published in the *Iowa State Press.* This

[30] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 58-61.

[31] Letter from Wm. H. White to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Carrollton, La., August 31, 1863, and statement from C. H. Evans, dated September 1, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

contained the charge that Mrs. Wittenmyer had offered to sell butter and eggs to the Sisters of Charity in charge of a hospital at Memphis, and that, when they refused to buy, she had refused to give them necessary sanitary stores.

When Mrs. Wittenmyer saw this charge, she wrote a letter to the *Press* emphatically denying the charge. "I have never in that hospital or any other hospital," she wrote, "sold or offered to sell, goods, eatables, or sanitary stores, or refused to give hospital goods, or any aid that it was possible for me to render, during the eighteen months I have served my State as Sanitary Agent . . . . *I have no time, or capacity, or desire, to peddle butter and eggs.*" She declared that she was neglecting her own property and business to carry on the work and warned the editors that they would be held responsible for the publication of false statements of this kind. This letter was published in full in the *Press*.[32]

Possibly the story originated in a plan suggested to Mrs. Wittenmyer by Governor Kirkwood, who suggested that on her trips north she should buy fresh vegetables, ship them to the well regiments, and sell them at cost, as a prevention of scurvy. She found the scheme impracticable for the men had not been paid, and she finally gave the vegetables away and refused to have any thing more to do with the plan.[33]

Nor were such stories the only sources of vexation. The goods sent to Mrs. Wittenmyer had for the most part been sent to Partridge & Co., at St. Louis. Here Mrs. Wittenmyer or her agents sorted them and made them ready for distribution. Early in April, 1863, boats along the river

[32] *The State Press* (Iowa City), February 7, March 14, 1863.

[33] Letter of C. D. Allen to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Iowa City, March 13, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

refused to take goods marked for this destination. At the same time an order of the War Department threatened to delay the distribution of goods along the Mississippi River. N. H. Brainerd, Military Secretary to Governor Kirkwood, wrote that this misunderstanding about the shipments to Partridge & Co. had been cleared up by Adjutant General Baker, and added, "There is a mystery about this matter which I do not pretend to understand and do not know as I want to for I fear if I did I might indulge in unchristian feelings towards some one or more of my fellowmen."[34]

Another source of worry was the attempt of some of the associates in the sanitary work to secure political or economic advantage. One of the men serving as Sanitary Agent wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer asking her to get from General Grant a concession for his son to sell goods in Vicksburg. She wrote at the bottom of this letter: "I want no business chances .... nor need I speak to Grant."[35]

The friction between the women's organization headed by Mrs. Wittenmyer and the Army Sanitary Commission continued, although both groups worked for the welfare of the sick and wounded soldiers of Iowa. In the fall of 1863 a convention of aid societies was called to discuss the situation. It met at Muscatine on October 7-9, 1863, and was attended by representatives of both groups. Mrs. Wittenmyer was chosen temporary chairman of the convention.

At this meeting it was decided to establish an orphans' home and to form an Iowa State Sanitary Commission "for the purpose of promoting the sanitary interests of the State, and building an Orphan Asylum." Some friction was evident during the proceedings for when A. J. Kynett, the

[34] Letters from N. H. Brainerd to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Iowa City, April 15 and April 18, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[35] *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

secretary of the Army Sanitary Commission, was called upon to speak he advised that the women coöperate with his organization and the United States Sanitary Commission instead of forming a new organization. In reply Mrs. Wittenmyer declared that the women's societies had preceded both the Iowa Army Sanitary Commission and the United States Sanitary Commission by at least five months. She also asserted that the law providing for the appointment of two sanitary agents by the Governor had, in effect, done away with the Army Sanitary Commission appointed earlier without legislative authorization.

Mrs. Wittenmyer was elected president of the newly organized association. On the last day of the convention she made some practical suggestions as to packing goods for shipment to the camps and hospitals. Among other things, she explained that small boxes which a man could carry were less likely to injury than larger boxes which had to be rolled about. Eggs should be packed in oats and not in cornmeal, which often became heated and spoiled the eggs.[36]

This arrangement lasted only a short time. On November 18, 1863, another convention met at Des Moines and formed what was called the Iowa Sanitary Commission. Mrs. Wittenmyer was not an officer of this Commission and it appears to have been unfriendly to her. The policy of giving local aid directly to Iowa soldiers which had been one of Mrs. Wittenmyer's ideas was, however, continued, at least in part and as State Sanitary Agent Mrs. Wittenmyer continued to handle a large part of the relief work.[37]

In handling the relief work, Mrs. Wittenmyer required

[36] *Proceedings of the Loyal Women's Convention, Held in Muscatine October 7th, 8th and 9th, 1863.*

[37] *Muscatine Weekly Journal,* November 27, 1863; letter from William M. Stone to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Des Moines, December 16, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

assistance. Volunteers were at first sufficient, but this aid soon proved inadequate, and in the spring of 1863, Enoch J. Mathis, an enlisted man from the Thirty-seventh Iowa Infantry, was detailed to assist her. On May 30, 1863, he wrote the following letter to Mrs. Wittenmyer from St. Louis:

> Out of the depths I essay to make a start at my official correspondence.
>
> Enclosed please find a lot of letters which have been perambulating the country after you for a long time.
>
> There is but one that as yet I am able to answer and I have acknowledged that.
>
> I have kept myself pretty busy copying invoices and making a list of Aid Societies.
>
> Will be able to get straight after a while I hope.

Mr. Mathis appears to have been an efficient and conscientious secretary and seems to have had charge of the books and office business, especially the receipt, repacking, and shipping of boxes, at the St. Louis office.[38] A number of women also worked with Mrs. Wittenmyer as assistants and secretaries. Among these was Miss Mary E. Shelton of Keokuk who began her duties as secretary in the summer of 1863, frequently accompanying Mrs. Wittenmyer on her field trips. Miss Shelton served throughout the war, although not always as a personal secretary.[39] Mrs. W. H. Cole and a number of other women also gave assistance in the office.

Of Mrs. Wittenmyer's experiences in her trips up and down the Mississippi River and in the hospitals and camps,

[38] Letter from E. J. Mathis to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated St. Louis, May 30, 1863, and letter from Mrs. Wittenmyer to Mary E. Shelton, dated Louisville, Ky., December 10, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines); *Journal of the Senate* (Iowa), 1864, p. 197.

[39] Moore's *Women of the War; Their Heroism and Self-Sacrifice*, pp. 213-237.

she has left many stories, all written with almost military terseness, but with dramatic vividness. On one occasion the train was thrown from the track. "I was sitting by the stove at the time reading my beautiful new book, my mind full of tenderness and poetry", she wrote to Miss Shelton. When the car left the track, she realized the danger of being pinned against the stove and sprang into the aisle. Just then the contents of the water tank struck her in the face. When it was over, she found herself safe except for a few bruises, although she was wet and chilly, but her book was covered with soot, water, and ashes.[40]

On the night of December 31, 1863, not long after this experience, Mrs. Wittenmyer and another woman relief worker were at Chattanooga, Tennessee. At the foot of Lookout Mountain was a large field hospital in which the men too severely wounded or too sick to be moved were sheltered in tents without floors and unheated. A storm from the north was raging and the night was bitterly cold —so cold that men on guard were frozen to death. The situation of the sick and wounded men in the tents was desperate. Mrs. Mary A. Bickerdyke, one of the characters among the army nurses in the Civil War, had taken charge. She was no stickler for red tape in emergencies and when fuel ran low she had ordered her helpers to use the logs from a surrendered Confederate fort, in spite of the objections of the surgeon that he had no authority to use this government property and that she would be reported and arrested. "Mother" Bickerdyke knew that the men would freeze before the order for the use of the material could be secured, so she used the logs first and explained later.

And so the fires were burning and Mrs. Wittenmyer

[40] Letter from Mrs. Wittenmyer to Miss Shelton, dated Louisville, Ky., December 10, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

helped to carry heated stones from the fires to the tents to keep the patients from freezing. Some of the tents blew down and the attendants had to crawl under the fallen canvas to get to the patient with their hot rocks. Among the supplies she had brought with her to this camp, Mrs. Wittenmyer found a lot of home-knit wool socks which were a boon to the chilled and suffering men. Fortunately the storm lasted only a short time and order was soon restored, but the suffering was acute while it lasted. It was here that an Irish soldier attempted to express his appreciation of the assistance rendered by Mrs. Wittenmyer by saying: "And sure it's an angel ye are, and may ye be in heaven three weeks before the devil finds out ye're dead."[41]

In contrast to this picture of a field hospital in a winter's storm is the story told by Mrs. Wittenmyer of the situation she found at Vicksburg. She came to this camp in June, bringing supplies and found many sick and wounded men sheltered in tents pitched on the sides of a bluff which shut out the breeze. The sun beat down on the men, already suffering from wounds and fever. The water was brought to the camp in barrels and stood all day in the blazing sun. Always there was the roar of artillery and the whine of the shells. The place was an inferno of pain, heat, and noise. As Mrs. Wittenmyer stopped at the side of one of the sick men with lemonade — tepid, no doubt — he said: "I got a little sleep a while ago, and I dreamed that I was at the old spring; but just as I was taking a good cool drink I waked up."

It was at this camp that Mrs. Wittenmyer, as she sat talking for a few minutes to the surgeon, noticed that the weeds outside the opening to the tent rippled and shook as if some small animal was running through them. She

[41] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 51-57; Brockett and Vaughan's *Woman's Work in the Civil War,* pp. 172-186.

called the surgeon's attention to this motion, for there was no wind, and he smiled and explained that the motion was due to bullets, but he added the reassurance, "The bullets fall a little short you see." A few days later an officer was killed while sitting in the chair which had been occupied by Mrs. Wittenmyer.[42]

During the siege of Vicksburg, a number of wounded Union soldiers were in a hospital under the guns of both armies, but protected by a high embankment. Mrs. Wittenmyer had sent supplies to these suffering men, but had not attempted to visit them, since the approach to the hospital was under fire. The surgeon, however, decided that it would please his "boys" to have Mrs. Wittenmyer visit them. He had secured a horse, which he insisted "wouldn't shy or jump if a shell burst just before him". Would she go?

She did, mounted on a cavalry saddle, swimming her horse across the canal, and riding at a gallop under the shells from the mortar boats and batteries on both sides.

She was appalled by the condition of the wounded men in the hospital when she reached it, her dress still dripping wet from crossing the canal. The next morning she called on General Grant and reported the condition of these men lying in the midst of constant bombardment. General Grant at once ordered the men moved, and that night under cover of darkness, they were transferred to a hospital twenty-five miles away.[43]

During the battle of Shiloh, the hospital boat on which Mrs. Wittenmyer was traveling was moored at the landing. As the day broke, the three women on the boat could see the wounded men on the nearby boats, some lying out in the rain. Along the bank were the mangled bodies of the dead. In the faint light of morning came calls for water

[42] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 125-127.

[43] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 11-16.

and food. The three women were soon busy. Among her supplies, Mrs. Wittenmyer had some canned oysters and several barrels of crackers. When these were exhausted they used beef from the store-room and made barrels of soup. An officer, seeing Mrs. Wittenmyer carrying a bucket of soup across the gang plank, detailed a soldier to help her. The women worked all day, without a moment's rest. Sometimes Mrs. Wittenmyer paused to help a surgeon dress the worst wounds. Her clothing was wet and muddy to the knees. At ten o'clock that night some one asked her if she had had supper and only then did she remember that she had not eaten a mouthful of food since the night before.

During the battle, as Mrs. Wittenmyer walked across the field while guns were still heard in the distance, she met two soldiers carrying a badly wounded comrade. The two men laid their burden down at the foot of a large tree and Mrs. Wittenmyer went to see if she could be of assistance. "I am dying", the man said, "can't somebody pray?" Mrs. Wittenmyer did not hesitate. Kneeling on the damp ground with the hand of the dying soldier in her own, she prayed until he said, "The way is light now, I do not fear", and all was still.[44]

Late in August, 1863, Mrs. Wittenmyer found over two thousand sick and wounded men at Helena, Arkansas, tormented by heat, flies, and dust. Nearby was a swamp, from which came malaria-laden mosquitoes. Water from the tepid Mississippi River stood in barrels which had held pickled pork. A barge of ice lay at the landing, but no one seemed to have authority to issue it and it was slowly melting away. Mrs. Wittenmyer had money to buy, however, and soon cakes of ice were floating in the water barrels.

The men had given up hope of being moved north. The nearest officer who could give orders for their removal was

[44] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 28-35.

at Memphis and Mrs. Wittenmyer decided to present the case of the suffering men at Memphis. All night she waited for the up-bound steamer, writing letters meanwhile for the soldiers. At daylight a steamer came and Mrs. Wittenmyer boarded it, leaving Miss Shelton to continue the letter-writing. At Memphis she drove to the office of the medical director, only to find that the director had gone hunting leaving an orderly in charge. She went to the office of the commanding general to find only the adjutant there. The general was ill, but she finally was permitted to see him and present her plea. In conclusion she said, "I want you, General, to send down four steamers immediately, fitted out with cots and supplies, to bring all these suffering men away from that death-trap." The general said it should be done. "But, General", she continued, "I want the order issued before I leave this office." The adjutant promised to send out the order at once, but Mrs. Wittenmyer, to emphasize her determination, added: "Remember, I have no other appeal but the newspapers and the great, generous people of the North who sustain them, if you fail." Evidently Mrs. Wittenmyer had learned the power of public opinion.

The next morning she was back at Helena with the news. In the two churches where many wounded and sick men were lying on the seats, Mrs. Wittenmyer went into the pulpits and proclaimed the glad tidings — "Four hospital steamers will be here to-day to take you to Northern hospitals." The men could not believe the report, but the boats came.[45]

There were many other lines of relief work. Women who came to the camps to visit their sick and wounded relatives often required assistance which Mrs. Wittenmyer's familiarity with military life enabled her to give.

[45] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns*, pp. 106-114.

Letters were to be written for the very sick. Women sometimes wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer to thank her for news of loved ones, sometimes even for a comforting notification of death, instead of the usual long newspaper list. The return of the little personal effects of the dead soldier was often a real service to the friends at home. Assistance in securing furloughs for convalescent or very sick soldiers was also an important part of relief work. In January, 1863, N. H. Brainerd, Military Secretary to Governor Kirkwood, wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer: "Gov. Kirkwood directs me to call your special attention to those soldiers in hospital who are permanently disabled and ask you to make every effort in your power to obtain discharges for such. It is feared many die in hospital who might have been saved had they been discharged in time and sent to their homes but for want of some one to interest themselves in their behalf have lingered and died. Will you make this a very special point in your labors."[46]

Nor were Mrs. Wittenmyer's ministrations limited to the men of the Union army. After the surrender of Vicksburg, Mrs. Wittenmyer visited the Confederate hospitals distributing supplies. A young Confederate soldier attracted her attention and she asked him if he would like to have her write a letter to his mother in Alabama. "You couldn't do it", he replied, "it wouldn't get through the lines." "Yes, I can send it", Mrs. Wittenmyer replied, "I often send letters. I send them through the commanding general when a flag of truce passes." And so through the kindness of this Iowa woman and General Grant, a mother in Alabama had news that the son, whom she had believed to be dead, was alive, though wounded and a prisoner, and that

[46] Letter from N. H. Brainerd to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated January 9, 1863, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

she could write to him by sending the letter unsealed to Mrs. Wittenmyer.[47]

Interesting and dramatic as Mrs. Wittenmyer's personal work among the soldiers was, her most important contributions to the welfare of sick and wounded soldiers was undoubtedly the organization of the special diet kitchens in the hospitals. Her interest in this need had been aroused early in the war by a personal experience.

One morning in January, 1862, Mrs. Wittenmyer, then acting as unofficial field worker for the Keokuk Aid Society, walked into a military hospital at Sedalia, Missouri, and glanced keenly around the large room filled with cots, each one holding a sick or wounded soldier. Some of the men may have recognized the visitor, for many of the patients were Iowa soldiers.

It was breakfast time and attendants were moving about with trays. Mrs. Wittenmyer noticed that one patient waved the attendant away with a look of disgust on his pale face, and heard the man who acted as waiter say, "If you can't eat this you'll have to do without; there is nothing else". She moved closer and recognized her own brother, Davis C. Turner, who had enlisted the preceding year. Then she looked at the rejected breakfast. "On a dingy-looking wooden tray", she wrote later, "was a tin cup full of black, strong coffee; beside it was a leaden-looking tin platter, on which was a piece of fried fat bacon, swimming in its own grease, and a slice of bread."[48] No wonder the sick boy looked upon this fare with disgust. The accidental meeting of the sister and brother was indeed fortunate for the sick boy who was nursed back to health by his competent sister. It was fortunate, too, for other soldiers, for it emphasized on the mind of Mrs. Wittenmyer the need

[47] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 160-163.

[48] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 72-76.

for special diets for certain types of sick and wounded soldiers.

In most hospitals at the time sick men were served exactly the same kind of food as that issued to the men in the field. Even for the well soldiers, the rations would be condemned to-day for the lack of vitamins and certain necessary food ingredients, but for men sick with typhoid fever or dysentery, or running a high temperature as a result of infected wounds — and most wounds were infected in those days — bacon, beans, bread, and coffee were evidently unsuitable foods. Moreover, most of the cooking was done by private soldiers, most of whom did not care for the job. But military red tape could not be expected to distinguish between a well soldier and a sick one: certain rations were provided — or were provided if no dishonest contractor or commissary officer intervened.

When supplies of delicacies were sent to the hospitals there was still the problem of distribution. The surgeons were unwilling to have visitors distribute food to the sick on the ground that something might be given to the patients which would be injurious — although it is difficult to see how anything except poison could have been much more harmful than the food regularly served. On the other hand, when such supplies were turned over to the commissary, they often failed to reach the sick men for whom they were intended.

Mrs. Wittenmyer pondered this problem of feeding the sick and wounded men and in December, 1863, she proposed the establishment of special diet kitchens in each hospital with two experienced women to act as supervisors or dietary nurses. The food for each patient requiring a special diet was to be prescribed by the surgeon in charge, prepared in the special diet kitchen, and served to the patient according to the name or number on the diet slip.

While she was engaged in this new work, her enemies at home were not idle. This culminated in an attempt to get the General Assembly which met in January, 1864, to repeal the act which made Mrs. Wittenmyer one of the State Sanitary Agents. No doubt aware of this opposition, Mrs. Wittenmyer submitted a report of her activities to the Governor and General Assembly on February 5, 1864.

In this report she described her activities and discussed some of the problems in the sanitary work. She pointed out that much of the relief work was then being done through the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission, since Iowa regiments had become so scattered that it was almost impossible to distribute goods to them individually. She pointed out, however, that the State Sanitary Agents were still needed at various concentration points to look after sick and convalescent Iowa soldiers and to assist the men in securing needed furloughs, clearing up delays in pay, and in other matters.

Mrs. Wittenmyer also called attention to the need of women as nurses in the hospitals. Iowa, she declared, had furnished more female nurses than any other western State. The president of the Western Sanitary Commission had written to Mrs. Wittenmyer in November, 1863, that fifty-three Iowa women were then employed as nurses. He then added, "Nothing adds more to the comfort of our sick soldiers than the kind and tender care of these patriotic women who have volunteered to serve in hospitals. I wish that more could be employed, but as it depends in a great degree upon the will and caprice of the Surgeons in charge of the hospitals, I cannot force it. A large number of applicants from Iowa have been declined for want of situations to give them."

Replying to the criticisms of the administration of relief

work, Mrs. Wittenmyer warned the people not to be discouraged in welfare work by reports of dishonesty and mismanagement. It was true, she said, that there had been cases of such dishonesty, but there was also much fine work. Some complaints came from the soldiers themselves, because some of the goods which really came from the Sanitary Commission were distributed by the army commissary or medical departments and the soldiers did not realize they were receiving such sanitary supplies as gifts from the people.

During the preceding year, Mrs. Wittenmyer had received sanitary goods for the soldiers estimated at some $115,876.93. She also expressed appreciation of the cooperation she had received from General U. S. Grant and thanked the railroads and the packet companies for free transportation for herself, her staff, and sanitary supplies, and the Illinois and Mississippi Telegraph Company for free transmission of messages. She estimated that she had traveled some thirty thousand miles.

The distribution of sanitary supplies, although almost entirely supported by gifts from private citizens, received some State aid, largely at the discretion of the Governor. Between August 1, 1862, and January 13, 1864, Mrs. Wittenmyer received $1960.77 from the State of Iowa for expenses, including traveling expenses for herself and her assistants, and the transportation of women nurses to the hospitals. On February 10, 1864, Governor William M. Stone, on the recommendation of former Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood had paid her $1550 as salary for fifteen and one-half months.[49]

On February 6th, the day after this report was submitted

[49] *Journal of the Senate* (Iowa), 1864, pp. 42, 43, 196-219, 407; *Reports of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, State Sanitary Agent; also Special Message of Governor Wm. M. Stone,* in *Iowa Legislative Documents,* 1864, Vol. II.

to the legislature, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution calling on the Governor to inform the House what persons, in addition to Mrs. Wittenmyer, had been appointed sanitary agents; what sums of money had been furnished to Mrs. Wittenmyer and the other sanitary agents; how such money was expended; and "whether the 'needed articles' therewith purchased, were furnished gratuitously to the sick and wounded soldiers in the field, or whether said articles were sold to said soldiers, and if sold, what disposition was made of the proceeds of such sales; and what sum or sums of money have been paid by him or his predecessor to Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer or to each of the other agents under the provisions of the 6th Section of the Act cited in the foregoing Preamble, keeping *seperate* [sic] and *distinct* the amount paid as 'just and reasonable compensation,' and the amount paid as 'traveling expenses,' as contemplated in said 6th Section, including 'expenses' incurred in attending *Conventions,* Fairs, etc., in different places in the United States, or only those incurred in going to, remaining in, or returning from the field or hospital."[50]

Governor Stone replied to this request by a short special message on February 13th in which he declared that he knew very little about the sanitary work during the administration of his predecessor. He declared that he had paid Mrs. Wittenmyer $110.77 for expenses not covered by previous payments, bringing the total to $1960.77, and that he had paid her the $1550 for her salary as certified by the former Governor.[51]

[50] *Reports of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, State Sanitary Agent; also Special Message of Governor Wm. M. Stone,* pp. 30-41, in *Iowa Legislative Documents,* 1864, Vol. II; *Journal of the House of Representatives* (Iowa), 1864, pp. 236, 237, 274-279.

[51] Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa,* Vol. III, pp. 157-163.

Ten days later — February 23rd — Mrs. Wittenmyer submitted a supplementary report to the General Assembly. In reply to certain criticisms implied in the questions sent to the Governor by the House, Mrs. Wittenmyer declared that all the goods furnished by the State of Iowa the previous year — about two hundred bushels of potatoes — had been distributed gratis to the soldiers. She went back to the old charge that she had sold goods contributed for the soldiers. In January, 1863, she explained, she had bought with her own money, or money for which she was charged by the State, about three hundred dollars worth of supplies and antiscorbutics which were to be furnished to some of the Iowa regiments at cost. These were paid for out of company saving funds, but some of these things were given to the wounded and as a result Mrs. Wittenmyer lost money. In answer to the question as to where the proceeds on such sales went Mrs. Wittenmyer replied, "*there were no proceeds*".

Mrs. Wittenmyer also gave a definite statement as to money paid her by the State. Her first journeys to the army, she declared, were made at her own expense. Later the Keokuk Aid Society financed her expenses, with the aid of two hundred dollars from the State fund. From August 1, 1862, to January 18, 1864, her expense account was $1,180.88. This did not include transportation, usually furnished by the government. She submitted with this report a statement of expenditures with vouchers.

In conclusion, she asserted that no State Sanitary Agents except herself had attended any fair or convention in any part of the United States and added, "I would respectfully inform your honorable body, that my attendance upon those benevolent enterprises has not cost the State *anything*."[52]

Friends of Mrs. Wittenmyer rallied to her support. The

[52] *Journal of the Senate* (Iowa), 1864, pp. 304-308.

Ladies Aid Society of Iowa City, for example, unanimously adopted some resolutions to be sent to the General Assembly. Protesting against the repeal of the Sanitary Agent law, the women declared that Mrs. Wittenmyer had proved her devotion to the soldiers by engaging in the work before any reward was offered; that the salary paid her by the State was in no way equal to the value of her services, and that her removal would discourage the women of the State and compel them to turn away from the official State agencies.[53]

In the House, a bill to repeal the act of 1862 creating State Sanitary Agents and substitute a new measure was adopted but the bill was indefinitely postponed in the Senate.[54]

Lieutenant Governor Enoch W. Eastman, who was the presiding officer in the Senate at the time, wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer:

> Before you receive this you will probably be informed that *you yet live.*
>
> The day of trial is over & your friends had quite a rejoicing at the result. Upon the question to print your report *separately* the vote stood 6 to attach the Governor's message & your reply & 35 *against* it. So 1500 copies were ordered printed for you & 500 for the Senate.
>
> When the House bill to repeal the law by which you were appointed came up the Sanitary Committee claimed it should go to them. Your friends asked for it to go to the Military Com. (who were your friends). I ruled in their favor & *there it went.* Day before yesterday they reported it back & recommended that it be indefinitely postponed and I put the question so quick that it made

[53] Resolutions adopted by the Iowa City Ladies Aid Society, March 10, 1864, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[54] *Journal of the House of Representatives* (Iowa), 1864, pp. 387, 388; *Journal of the Senate* (Iowa), 1864, pp. 408, 416, 424.

their heads swim. And the loud "Aye" swam the bill into oblivion before your enemies could get breath to say "No". . . .

They had up a resolution in the House to print your report with the message of the Gov. Your friends finally triumphed by adding *your answer*. Thus you see "Justice is slow but sure".[55]

In the meantime the diet kitchens were demanding more and more of Mrs. Wittenmyer's time. The commanding officers and the surgeons, at first hesitant, were soon asking for diet kitchens and women to assist in them. The United States Christian Commission decided to take over this work, and early in May, 1864, Mrs. Wittenmyer resigned her position as State Sanitary Agent to devote all her time to the superintendence of the diet kitchens. Before the close of the war more than one hundred of the special diet kitchens were installed. It was Mrs. Wittenmyer's plan that these kitchens should be a part of the regular hospitals, subject to the surgeon in charge. Usually two women were assigned to supervise the preparation of the food and to visit the sick men. In these kitchens, all kinds of foods needed or craved by sick men were furnished if it was possible to secure them. Such items as toast, milk, chicken, gruel, tomatoes, and jellies took the place of camp fare. Some of these special foods were secured from the commissary, but most of the extra diets were furnished by private gifts through the Christian Commission. Some of these diet kitchens furnished meals for as many as fifteen hundred very sick patients at one time. For the month of February, 1865, sixteen of these diet kitchens furnished 899,472 rations. As the organization increased, field superintendents in the various military departments were employed. Mary E. Shelton added jokingly after one of her

[55] Letter from Enoch W. Eastman to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Des Moines, March 10, 1864, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

letters: "'Field Superintendent of Diet Kitchens in the Department of the Mississippi, U.S.C.C.' Keep out the way of my title. It is almost as formidable as yours."[56]

The instructions sent out by Mrs. Wittenmyer to the women she appointed as supervisors of these diet kitchens, dated July 9, 1864, show how keenly she realized that the good will of the surgeons in charge must be kept if the diet kitchens were to be a success. Because they are characteristic of Mrs. Wittenmyer's attitude in her work, they are quoted in full:

INSTRUCTIONS TO MANAGERS OF SPECIAL DIET KITCHENS

In accepting your present position of responsibility, you place yourself in the service and under the general care and direction of the U. S. Christian Commission; and in my absence you will be under the general direction of the Field Agent of the Department, and will look to the nearest Station Agent of the Commission for assistance and supplies.

The following statements and requirements must receive careful attention, and be scrupulously observed:

1st. Your work in the Kitchen is to assist the Surgeons in giving comfort and restoration to languishing men, who are in need of carefully prepared nutritious food.

2d. The order of the Surgeon in charge, is the law of the Kitchens, as it is of all other hospital arrangements.

3d. Under the direction of the Surgeon in charge, it will be your duty to prepare such articles of diet, and only such, as are ordered or approved by the Surgeons in charge of the sick.

4th. You will keep open to the inspection of the Surgeon in charge, an account of all the stores received from any source outside of the hospital, and at the end of each month, send to me at

[56] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 259-267; *Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 283, 284; Brockett and Vaughan's *Woman's Work in the Civil War,* pp. 378, 379; *Muscatine Weekly Journal,* June 3, 1864; letter from Mary E. Shelton to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Memphis, Tenn., December 31, 1864, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

Louisville, Ky., a statement of the expenditures from such sources, and an invoice of the stock on hand, accompanied by a requisition for the supplies needed for the coming month.

5th. In addition to the monthly report, you will communicate with me at Louisville, Ky., at the end of each week, noting any incident of interest you may choose, and giving a general statement of the condition and working of the Kitchen.

6th. Great good may be daily accomplished by bringing kind words and Christian sympathy and solicitude, with articles of comfort and necessity, to the cots of the sick and wounded; but all such visits to the wards must be by the Surgeon's permission, and in strict conformity with hospital regulations.

7th. A spirit of censoriousness and evil speaking and intermeddling, unchristian anywhere, is doubly mischievous here, and dangerous to all concerned. First impressions of what can and ought to be done in a large hospital, are very likely to need the correction which extended experience and candid observation are sure to give.

8th. Neatness and simplicity of dress, are intimately connected with your success.

9th. A uniform Christian deportment, above the shadow of reproach, and the avoiding of the very appearance of evil, is absolutely necessary.

10th. Your work has its foundation in Christian self-sacrifice. The only possible sufficient motive for you, is a desire to do good to the suffering. For this you will be willing to forego, in a large degree, home comforts, and especially that of social intercourse, in order to give yourself, with a single aim, and with all your might, to the work you have undertaken.[57]

St. Louis, Mo., July 9, 1864,

The work, however, did not always move smoothly. There was friction at many points. One point at issue was the

[57] Stewart's *Lest We Forget — Annie Wittenmyer, First President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, p. 3. Miss Lucy Shelton Stewart is a niece of Miss Mary E. Shelton, who was Mrs. Wittenmyer's secretary during the war. A sister of Mary Shelton's, Amanda Shelton, was one of the women supervisors of the diet kitchens.

position of the women supervisors sent out by Mrs. Wittenmyer. Some of the surgeons, rather unfriendly to what they considered meddling by the women, insisted that the women helpers were merely cooks. The surgeon in charge of the Adams General Hospital at Memphis, Tennessee, wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer early in July:

> I have been expecting the female cooks for some time but only one has come. I am informed that you have determined to assign one here as Superintendent. That will not do for I *know* it will create trouble wherever such an arrangement is made.
>
> I expect of course that one of the cooks will rank the rest but all the cooks you send me are to come in the capacity of cooks and will be assigned to duty by me and I only *want four*. That number will be ample.[58]

A little more than a month later, Mrs. Wittenmyer wrote to the Assistant Surgeon General describing the condition in this hospital. The surgeon in charge had just died, she asserted, from delirium tremens. His conduct during the last few weeks, was a "scandal to the hospital service". Conditions in another hospital at Memphis, the Gayoso, were equally bad. The women in charge of the special diet kitchens had been treated as servants and forbidden to visit the men in the wards, even upon request. The surgeon had said to one of the women: "The Kitchen is your place. If you cross the door into the dining hall or any of the wards I will pitch you out of doors."[59]

Moreover, the women did not always get along together. There were complaints that some of these women — no doubt the younger ones — had danced in the hospital in-

[58] Letter from J. G. Keenon to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Memphis, Tenn., July 9, 1864, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[59] Copy of a letter from Mrs. Wittenmyer to Col. R. C. Wood, dated Memphis, Tenn., August 13, 1864, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

stead of serving the sick men. Some of them did not work well with the surgeons. Some, on the other hand, were in too great favor with the men of the hospital. One woman was so influential with the surgeon that "her will appears to rule every thing". One woman was reported as saying that she needed no suggestions from Mrs. Wittenmyer, and would not report to her, and that she defied removal. Mrs. Wittenmyer's notation on this letter reads as follows: "Mrs. McKay remained insubordinate and had to leave, and the surgeon came near going too. After which the kitchen was reorganized and the men better fed."[60]

There was also the problem of graft. Miss Lou E. Vance, one of the women assigned to the diet kitchen in the General Hospital at Madison, Indiana, found that things were not going well there. The food was bad, especially the coffee. Mrs. Wittenmyer advised her to do some detective work and report to her. One of the first things Miss Vance found was a barrel placed outside the kitchen door into which the used coffee grounds were deposited. She inquired why they were saved, and was told, "It's the surgeon's orders." She was also told that these used grounds were, at the orders of the same surgeon, dried on the floor of the commissary. When she inquired what was done with the dried coffee grounds, the men employed in the kitchen laughed, but declared they did not know. Miss Vance poured some of the coffee served to the patients in a white pine sink and decided that it had been adulterated with logwood to give it the color the used grounds did not. Miss Vance then picked out one of the men who looked easily frightened and asked him why the men put this logwood into the coffee to poison the sick men. He declared he was not to blame; it was the surgeon's orders. The

[60] *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

other men confirmed this statement. The surgeon was selling the new coffee and serving coffee made from the old grounds. Mrs. Wittenmyer ordered Miss Vance to get this information in the form of affidavits.

Miss Vance also discovered that the vouchers and the bills did not agree and that even the soap was adulterated. She asserted that 2200 pounds of soap had been made and 2500 issued. She wrote letter after letter to Mrs. Wittenmyer describing the condition and asking when the surgeon — whom she usually referred to as the "Maj." or "Maj. R." — was to be arrested and tried. She believed that he was unaware that she knew of his dishonesty. "He does not call so often", she wrote in one letter, "but when he does, he always has a Sunday face, nice as a new book with a gilt edge." In another letter to Mrs. Wittenmyer, Miss Vance wrote: "Do let me know if there is really any thing being positively done. This meanness must be exposed at all hazzards. I dont know but I shall have to take the stump to do the matter justice yet".[61]

Mrs. Wittenmyer, however, was not idle, although she appears to have had great difficulty in getting action from the authorities, perhaps because the hospital at Madison, Indiana, was soon to be closed anyway. A letter from one of the officers of the hospital, apparently written in reply to a request of Mrs. Wittenmyer for information, indicates the difficulty. "I cannot", he wrote, "give any information in the matter referred to till called for examination by the proper authorities. I commend your zeal in behalf of the soldier who suffers enough in the field, and any improper treatment of them in Hospitals, especially such [as] you

[61] Letters from Miss L. E. Vance to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Madison, Indiana, May 6, June 2, 5, 8, 24, 1865, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines); Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 193-201.

inquire about, proves our inability to give some crimes a proper name."[62]

Finally Mrs. Wittenmyer went to Louisville, Kentucky, to lay the evidence before Assistant Surgeon General R. C. Wood. When she explained her mission and gave the name of the accused surgeon, General Wood exclaimed in surprise, "Why, he is one of my best surgeons!" "You may think he is one of your best surgeons", Mrs. Wittenmyer replied, "but my opinion of him is that *he ought to be hung higher than Haman.*"

When she had finished presenting her evidence, the Assistant Surgeon General admitted that he was convinced of the guilt of the surgeon in charge of the hospital. Mrs. Wittenmyer wanted to turn the case over to Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, for prosecution, but General Wood insisted on a military investigation to prefer charges, declaring that it would be a reflection on his honesty to let the Governor take charge. Mrs. Wittenmyer finally agreed, but her suspicion of the effectiveness of an investigation by a commission was justified by the outcome. Before the military investigation commission got through its investigation, the surgeon telegraphed his resignation to Washington and left the hospital — unpunished.[63]

Mrs. Wittenmyer remained in charge of the diet kitchen work of the United States Christian Commission until the war closed and the hospitals gradually emptied. Of her work, General U. S. Grant said, "No soldier on the firing line gave more heroic service than she rendered".[64]

Indeed, General Grant showed his appreciation of the

[62] Letter from Dr. R. Knickerbocker to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Madison, Indiana, June 6, 1865, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

[63] *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines); Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 193-201.

[64] Reeves's *The Blue Book of Iowa Women,* p. 25.

work of Mrs. Wittenmyer from the beginning of the war. On one occasion early in the war, he had ordered the *City of Memphis,* one of the large boats on the Mississippi, to take Mrs. Wittenmyer to Mound City, Illinois, where there were several hospitals.[65]

One of the few cheerful experiences related by Mrs. Wittenmyer is the account of how she and Mrs. W. M. Stone entertained General Grant, General McPherson, and General Stone — later Governor of Iowa —at dinner one night in a dilapidated house in Vicksburg soon after its surrender. The negro cook was so much awed by the news that General Grant was to be among the guests that she secured the services of two professional colored waiters with swallow-tailed coats, white vests, and white gloves, although a tin platter served as a tray and the guests had to enter the dining room by walking up inclined planks, the stairs having been destroyed by a shell.[66]

In her work for the soldiers in the camps and hospitals, Mrs. Wittenmyer found many men who were worried about their children. Each casualty list, too, meant more orphans, and even when the mothers were still alive, it was frequently difficult for them to earn a living for a family of small children. On September 23, 1863, Mrs. Wittenmyer brought up the subject of soldiers' orphans at a meeting of the Soldiers' Aid Society at Iowa City, and a State Convention of Aid Societies was called to discuss this problem, among others. It met on October 7-9, 1863, at Muscatine and at this convention Mrs. Wittenmyer introduced a long resolution ending with the following: "*Resolved,* That we will establish an Asylum for the orphan children who have been made fatherless by this war."

Indeed "building an Orphan Asylum" was one of the

[65] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 1-3.

[66] Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 174-180.

main purposes for which the "Iowa State Sanitary Commission" was organized at this time. Mrs. Wittenmyer was elected president; but when the Sanitary Commission was reorganized later that fall, the orphans' home project was separated from the relief work and a new organization — the Iowa State Orphan Asylum Association, later the Iowa Orphans' Home Association — was formed on December 30, 1863. Mrs. Wittenmyer was not one of the officers of this association but was on the board of trustees and was one of the incorporators of this first home, opened at Farmington in July, 1864. Another home was opened at Cedar Falls in August, 1865. These homes were soon full and in October, 1865, Mrs. Wittenmyer was sent to Washington, D. C., to secure from the Secretary of War permission to use the property belonging to Camp Kinsman at Davenport. She first called on the Surgeon General and secured a statement that these barracks were not needed for hospital purposes. She then secured a statement from the Quartermaster General that they were not needed for military purposes. "They were never needed; they ought never to have been built", he replied, as he signed the statement. Mrs. Wittenmyer then took up the matter with the Secretary of War and secured his promise to transfer the property subject to the approval of Congress when it met. This approval was later secured. The buildings here had cost the government some $46,000. Mrs. Wittenmyer also secured from the War Department a large amount of hospital supplies, including blankets, sheets, pillow-cases, and pillows, valued at some $6000.[67]

The problems submitted to Mrs. Wittenmyer, however,

[67] *Muscatine Weekly Journal,* January 28, 1864; Darwin's *History of the Iowa State Orphan Asylum* in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. III, pp. 453-457; *Proceedings of the Loyal Women's Convention, Held in Muscatine October 7th, 8th 9th, 1863*; Wittenmyer's *Under the Guns,* pp. 251-257; Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa,* Vol. V, pp. 119-174.

were not entirely financial. One of the women in charge of the home at Farmington wrote to Mrs. Wittenmyer of her troubles in discipline. "We have 52 children in the home", she wrote. "Nine of this no. are over 12 years of age. Five of them girls. The boys are unruly, one or two were unmanageable at home, and here where the children are all wild noisy untaught and full of life these older ones lead off, and it is equal to training cattle except that the children can make more noise."[68]

Mrs. Wittenmyer's work of mercy received little recognition in the official records of the Civil War. That the sick men appreciated her services, however, is evident from the following comment by George D. Perkins, former editor of *The Sioux City Journal,* written at the time of her death.

"She belonged to Iowa during the Civil War. She was a leader among Iowa women in the collection and distribution of sanitary supplies for soldiers in the field. I was a member of Co. B, Thirty-first Iowa, and soon after our regiment reached Helena, Arkansas, I was taken violently ill. Our camp was utterly destitute of hospital supplies. The boys had fixed me up as well as they could. It was in the winter season and the rain fell almost incessantly. The boys gathered leaves and dried them and made a bed for me. My soldier overcoat was my pillow. In this situation, too weak to move more than my eyes and fingers, Mrs. Wittenmyer found me. She was just spying out the ground. She talked with me in such a cheery way, and when she left she said that in a few days they would have me in better shape. I do not remember all that followed, but I do remember that one day soon after her visit a real pillow took the place of my overcoat under my head. I was weak

[68] Letter from Mrs. W. H. Cole to Mrs. Wittenmyer, dated Farmington, November 20, 1864, in *War Correspondence of Annie Wittenmyer* (State Historical Department, Des Moines).

at the time, and I may as well confess that I instantly began to moisten it with tears. Of course, this is only one small incident in the army work of Annie Wittenmyer; but it is enough to enshrine her in my sacred memory.''[69]

Mrs. Wittenmyer's interest in the soldiers and their families and the army nurses did not cease with the close of the war. She was one of the first members of the Woman's Relief Corps when it was formed in 1883 and in 1889 she was chosen national president. It was during this year of service that Mrs. Wittenmyer inaugurated the movement for a National Woman's Relief Corps Home. This was located at Madison, Lake County, Ohio, and was intended to house army nurses and the widows and mothers of soldiers. Mrs. Wittenmyer was also instrumental in securing a State home in Pennsylvania for mothers and widows of soldiers, for soldiers and their wives, and for soldiers' orphan children; and she was interested in securing for the Woman's Relief Corps the prison grounds at Andersonville.[70]

In 1892 Mrs. Wittenmyer went to Washington to see what she could do about securing pensions for the army nurses. The time was not auspicious, for the administration was considered hostile to pension legislation, but within five months she had secured a bill giving a pension of $12.00 per month to needy women who had official recognition of six months service as nurses in the army. Many of these nurses had served without official enlistment and Mrs. Wittenmyer spent a great deal of her time and energy helping some of these women secure the data necessary for a pension.[71]

[69] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 482.

[70] *Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 285, 286; *Journal of the Eighth National Convention of the Woman's Relief Corps,* 1890, pp. 23-33.

[71] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXVII, Ch. 379, p. 348.

It was not until 1898, however, that Mrs. Wittenmyer herself received a pension. At that time she was past seventy years of age and within two years of her death. The House Committee recommended the passage of this special pension bill in the following report:

> Mrs. Wittenmyer served the soldiers during the entire civil war, with the approval of Secretary Stanton. At the request of the Surgeon-General of the Army she collected supplies for the sick and wounded amounting to about $200,000 in value, established dietary kitchens, which became a recognized part of the hospital service, and appointed dietary cooks, who are recognized by the Pension Office, under a decision of Assistant Secretary Reynolds, as having been appointed by authority recognized by the War Department, and which recognition gives them a pensionable status under the act of August 5, 1892. Mrs. Wittenmyer also used about $3,000 of her own funds in furnishing food delicacies, etc., for the soldiers.
>
> She is now old and in straitened circumstances. A generous Government that she did not desert when it needed heroes and heroines will not desert her now. The case is a worthy one.

The bill, providing for a pension of twenty-five dollars a month, was approved on May 14, 1898.[72]

The latter years of Mrs. Wittenmyer's life were largely devoted to religious and temperance work. Bishop Matthew Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church recognized her organizing ability and at the close of the war asked her to help with the organization of some home missionary work. In this connection she spoke before nearly all the annual conferences of the church and traveled thousands of miles from Maine to California.

Soon after she commenced this work, Mrs. Wittenmyer moved her home to Sanatoga, Pennsylvania, near Philadel-

[72] *Congressional Record*, 2nd Session, 55th Congress, p. 1199; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXX, p. 1442.

phia. There she started a paper called *The Christian Woman,* an individual enterprise which she carried on for eleven years. Somewhat later she founded a similar paper for children which she called *The Christian Child.*[73]

Children, indeed, were always of great importance in her thinking. As she had gathered the poor children of Keokuk into her home school, and planned and worked for the orphans of the soldiers, so she felt keenly the tragedy of the children raised in the poorer sections of the cities. In one of her books she has left a vivid description of the children in the slums who had "a life without a childhood". "In their innocence and helplessness", she said, "they find themselves, without choice of their own, in narrow, filthy quarters; nursed by drunken mothers; abused and cursed by brutal, besotted fathers; neglected and forsaken; struggling with the first gasp of life for life itself; breathing a polluted atmosphere".[74]

Mrs. Wittenmyer had seen plenty of the evils of intemperance during her work in the camps and hospitals as well as in civilian life, and it is not surprising that after her war work was over she contributed her personality and organizing ability to the cause of temperance. In 1871 she published a book on the work of women along religious lines and urged the church women to fight intemperance and liquor selling in every way. In one chapter she commented upon drinking among women, following the Civil War. Part of this chapter read as follows:

> There is no more alarming sign of the times than the increase of drunkenness *among the women of the higher classes.*
>
> It is fearful enough to see men bloated and besotted with wine

[73] *Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 284; *Memories of Heroic Crusaders,* compiled by Anna M. De Yo, pp. 26, 27; *Biographical Sketch of Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer.*

[74] Wittenmyer's *Woman's Work for Jesus,* pp. 24, 25.

and strong drink, but drunkenness in women unsettles the very foundations of society.

It may be no greater sin for a woman to drink than a man, but it certainly is a greater social calamity.

We may not however conceal the fact, that drunkenness among women of all classes is greatly on the increase, and especially among the rich, and that there is not only wine upon the side-board and brandy in the secret drawer, but *public places of resort where women go to drink.* Restaurants, whose chief attraction is "the wine list." . . .

There are thousands of women to-day among the higher classes, who are more or less under the influence of liquor every afternoon, or who occasionally take a spree.

I have seen women elegantly dressed, living in palatial residences, who were so drunk that they could not get out of their carriage without the aid of a foot-man.

And I have very often seen women in street and railway cars so much under the influence of liquor, that they could not give an intelligent answer to the simplest question — mothers with little children, who could not be trusted with them in their arms, by the father, or the servants in attendance.

Much of the use of liquor among women, Mrs. Wittenmyer attributed to the free use of patent medicines, most of which she said were merely compounds of liquors with various drugs. Taken month after month they created a demand for intoxicating liquor and more people were made drunkards by their use than were cured of disease. The women of the churches, she declared, "must not only *banish liquors from their houses, but patent medicines from their closets, and bring their whole influence to bear against every form of this evil.*"[75]

Intemperance was, indeed, prevalent in the United States at this time. During the year ending on June 30, 1873, the people of the United States with a population in 1870 of

[75] Wittenmyer's *Woman's Work for Jesus,* pp. 211-217.

approximately 39,000,000 and in a time of acute depression of industry drank more than 65,000,000 gallons of distilled spirits and over 300,000,000 gallons of fermented liquors such as beer. Mrs. Wittenmyer declared that the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington estimated the drink bill in one year at $600,000,000 or more, an average of about $15.00 per capita.[76]

The liquor dealers, declared Mrs. Wittenmyer, "were so intrenched behind law, so sheltered in politics, so guarded and sustained by the government, that they were an oligarchy that could dictate to statesmen, and control legislatures, and defy public sentiment. Restrictive laws in most states were weak and inoperative, and the demand for 'free rum' and a 'free Sabbath' was fierce and loud".[77]

When the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized at Cleveland, Ohio, on November 18, 1874, Mrs. Wittenmyer was one of the nine women nominated for president. Miss Frances E. Willard was also a nominee, but withdrew her name and Mrs. Wittenmyer was elected the first president, receiving 51 out of the 66 votes cast. In 1875 and 1876 Mrs. Wittenmyer was reëlected without opposition, but in 1877 a contest arose. Mrs. Judith Ellen Foster of Iowa nominated Miss Willard, but Mrs. Wittenmyer was reëlected with 69 out of the 111 votes cast. She was again elected in 1878 but in 1879 Miss Willard received a majority and Mrs. Wittenmyer, then presiding, requested that some delegate who had voted for her should move to make the ballot unanimous for Miss Willard.[78]

[76] *Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition* (Funk & Wagnalls), p. 129; Wittenmyer's *History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade,* p. 26; *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1880, pp. 132, 133. Whiskey sold at wholesale at New York at approximately ninety-five cents per gallon.

[77] Wittenmyer's *History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade,* p. 27.

[78] Stewart's *Lest We Forget — Annie Wittenmyer, First President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union,* pp. 4-6.

In 1875 a State Temperance Union was formed at Philadelphia. A group of about one hundred women, headed by Mrs. Wittenmyer, went from the convention to Harrisburg to ask Governor John F. Hartranft to veto the proposed bill repealing the State local option law. The Governor received the women, but, in effect, refused their request.[79]

While Mrs. Wittenmyer was president of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, twenty-three States were organized as auxiliaries and a national W. C. T. U. paper, *The Woman's Temperance Union,* was founded, beginning in June, 1875. Her work was heavy. Sometimes she spoke six evenings a week, and she attended all the large conventions of which there were forty-six in 1875 alone. She also planned the first Woman's National Camp Meeting, held at Ocean Grove, New Jersey. The meeting was wholly conducted by women and most of the speakers were women. One of the acts which characterized her administration was the presentation of a huge petition asking Congress for prohibition of the liquor traffic. The signatures were counted until they reached forty thousand, after that the memorials some of them measuring from fifty to a hundred feet were simply marked "uncounted thousands". The document was taken to Washington in February, 1875, and Mrs. Wittenmyer was invited to speak before the committee, but the matter was not even considered by Congress.[80]

Mrs. Wittenmyer continued her work for temperance throughout her life, although she seems to have disagreed with certain activities of the W. C. T. U. in later years, because she believed that they made the Union politically partisan. She then became a member of a non-political or-

[79] Wittenmyer's *History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade,* pp. 503, 504.

[80] Gordon's *Women Torch-Bearers,* pp. 17, 18, 265; *Memories of Heroic Crusaders,* compiled by Anna M. De Yo, pp. 27-29.

ganization, serving two years as president. Later she gave support to the Anti-Saloon League.[81]

Although Mrs. Wittenmyer was interested in all kinds of church and public welfare work, she seems not to have taken part in the equal suffrage movement, although she wrote editorials defending the right of women to preach and speak in the pulpit and printed in her paper a series of sermons by women evangelists.

Mrs. Wittenmyer found time, however, to do a great deal of writing, chiefly in connection with the public work in which she was interested. Her little volume, *Under the Guns,* is a collection of short, dramatic stories of her war experiences. It contains an introduction by Mrs. U. S. Grant, written in 1894, in which she says: "I used to look upon this brave, heroic woman with profound respect and admiration, which, if it were possible, has grown the greater in the thirty years that have passed since then."

Woman's Work for Jesus presented her ideals of the conduct and work of Christian women in their communities. She also published a *History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade, Women of the Reformation,* and *A Jeweled Ministry.* In addition to her work on the two papers which she founded, she edited a Relief Corps column in the *New York Weekly Tribune* for some five years, and she was for many years associate editor of *Home and Country,* a New York magazine. *The Red Book* was prepared as a manual for the Woman's Relief Corps.[82]

Mrs. Wittenmyer was also the author of a number of hymns. Among these are "The Valley of Blessing", "When the Curtains Are Lifted", "Jesus Is Mighty to Save", "A

[81] *Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 285.

[82] *Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer* in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 278; *Memories of Heroic Crusaders,* compiled by Anna M. De Yo, p. 27; *Annie Wittenmyer,* pamphlet issued by the W. C. T. U.

Wonderful Joy", and "When I Stand on the Streets of Gold".

The first stanza of this last named hymn reads as follows:

> The burdens of life may be many,
> The frowns of the world may be cold,
> To me it will matter but little,
> When I stand on the streets of gold.
> With joy I shall enter the city;
> The face of my Savior behold,
> And I shall be changed and be like him,
> When I stand on the streets of gold.[83]

Mrs. Wittenmyer spent the last years of her life at Sanatoga, Pennsylvania. Here, in an old mansion surrounded by some sixty-five acres of ground, she spent her time when she was not busy with her public duties. On her seventieth birthday, in 1897, Mrs. Wittenmyer received congratulations and testimonials from all over the country. The gifts and money, it was estimated, amounted to some $3600.

Mrs. Wittenmyer died in her home on the night of February 2, 1900. That her interest in her work continued until the last is evident from the fact that earlier that day she had lectured at Pottstown, Pennsylvania.[84] "Let her own works praise her in the gates".

Ruth A. Gallaher

State Historical Society of Iowa
Iowa City Iowa

[83] This hymn was copyrighted in 1886 by Mrs. Wittenmyer.

[84] *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 287, 402.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

The Century of the Reaper. By Cyrus McCormick. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931. Pp. 307. Plates. This volume is intended to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the invention of the McCormick reaper and as a memorial to Cyrus Hall McCormick, its inventor. It is also a contribution to the history of agriculture, manufacturing, and business in the United States during this century, for the author, a grandson of the inventor, describes the background, the invention of the first reaping machine, the organization of the business, competition, the periods of depression, consolidation, the age of power farming, and problems of distribution.

The book contains a number of illustrations and is attractively printed and bound. An index adds to its usefulness.

Cyrus Hall McCormick, Seed-Time, 1809-1856. By William T. Hutchinson. New York : The Century Co. 1931. Pp. 493. Plates. This volume, like the one reviewed above, is a memorial to the inventor of one of the machines which revolutionized agricultural life. Beginning with the background of the Virginia farms before 1831, the writer traces the history of the reaper down to about 1860. The last chapter contains personal material. The earlier chapters deal almost entirely with the history of McCormick's invention and its manufacture.

The book is well printed and bound and contains excellent footnotes and a complete index. The foreword is by William E. Dodd.

Norwegian Migration to America 1825-1860. By Theodore C. Blegen. Northfield, Minnesota : The Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1931. Pp. 396. Plates. Maps. This volume deals with the migration of Norwegians to America from 1825, when the movement was inaugurated by the coming of a little sloop bearing the first load of immigrants, down to the eve of the Civil War. Nine chapters are devoted to a connected narrative

of migration and settlements, with considerable emphasis on the internal conditions in the home country which affected the exodus. Two chapters take up the experiences of the Norwegians in the California gold rush and a scheme for colonizing Pennsylvania. Five chapters give unified consideration of such themes as the motives for coming to America, the attitude of Norwegian officialdom toward the movement, "America Books", "America Letters", and emigrant ballads and poems.

The book is a distinct contribution to the literature of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Iowans of Norwegian descent will be particularly interested in the parts relating to their own State.

The Development of Soil Science, by A. G. McCall; and *The Promotion of Agriculture by the Illinois Central Railroad, 1855-1870,* by Paul Wallace Gates, are the two articles in *Agricultural History* for April.

The Introduction of Farm Machinery in Its Relation to the Productivity of Labor in the Agriculture of the United States During the Nineteenth Century, by Leo Rogin, has recently been published as one of the *University of California Publications in Economics.* The monograph is divided into two main parts, one dealing with the plow and the other with machinery used in wheat production. Some interesting pictures add to the value of the monograph.

The American Historical Review for July contains the following articles: *The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession,* by Arthur S. Aiton; *Connecticut Taxation and Parliamentary Aid Preceding the Revolutionary War,* by Lawrence H. Gipson; and *Lincoln's Election an Immediate Menace to Slavery in the States?,* by Arthur C. Cole. Under *Notes and Suggestions* R. Earl McClendon contributes *Origin of the Two-Thirds Rule in Senate Action Upon Treaties.* The *Documents* are *Shay's Rebellion,* contributed by E. Francis Brown, and *Letters of James Ford Rhodes to Edward L. Pierce,* contributed by Frank Maloy Anderson.

WESTERN AMERICANA

Rural Community Types, by E. T. Hiller, Faye E. Corner, and Wendell L. East, has been published as a recent number of the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.*

Pierre Menard of Illinois, by William Stetson Merrill; and *A Miracle in Mid-America,* by Mathias M. Hoffmann, are two of the articles in the July issue of *Mid-America.*

Harmful Practices of Indian Traders of the Southwest, 1865-1876, by C. C. Rister, is one of the articles of general interest in the July issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review.*

The September number of *The Oregon Historical Quarterly* contains a travel account of some interest in Iowa history, entitled *Belshaw Journey, Oregon Trail, 1853,* compiled by Gwen Castle.

The *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* for 1931 contains an article by Richard Sallet entitled *Russlanddeutsche Siedlungen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.*

The Journal of Henry B. Miller, edited by Thomas Maitland Marshall; *The Pacific Railroad Company,* by Dorothy Jennings; and three letters by Dr. James O'Fallon, Amos Stoddard, and Wilson Price Hunt, make up Number 3 of Volume VI of the *Missouri Historical Society Collections.*

The Kanawha Valley Publishing Company of Charleston, West Virginia, has issued a reprint of *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers,* by John P. Hale. The first edition was printed in 1886. The volume contains interesting and valuable narratives of the first pioneers to cross the Allegheny Mountains.

The Valley of Pogue's Run, by Hilton U. Brown; *Daniel W. Voorhees,* by Frank Smith Bogardus; *Lincoln's Hoosier Schoolmaster,* by Louis A. Warren; *"The Burnt District",* by Grace Julian Clarke; and *The Old Jean Daniel Morerod House at Vevay,* by Julia LeClerc Knox, are the articles and papers in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for June.

Grahamton and the Early Textile Mills of Kentucky, by William Allen Pusey; *Abraham Lincoln, Senior, Grandfather of the President,* by Louis A. Warren; and *Antecedent Experience in Kentucky of William Maxwell, Ohio's First Printer,* by Douglas C. McMurtrie, are the three articles in *The Filson Club History Quarterly* for July.

Following the Prairie Frontier, by Seth K. Humphrey, has been recently published by the University of Minnesota Press. This volume is made up largely of anecdotes relating to pioneer life in Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. It is a good picture of life on the frontier, and especially of the occupation of the land.

The July number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains the following articles: *A Crisis in the History of the Hudson's Bay Company,* by William Thomas Morgan; *A Still Larger View of the So-called Yellowstone Expedition,* by Edgar B. Wesley; and *The Winter of 1807-1808 at Pembina, North Dakota* — Alexander Henry's *"Journal of the Weather",* by Howard E. Simpson.

A Wisconsin Variant of the Hopewell Culture, by W. C. McKern, has been published as Number 2 of Volume X of the *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee.* Number three in this volume is *The Dental Pathology of the Prehistoric Indians of Wisconsin,* by Alton K. Fisher, Herbert W. Kuhm, and George C. Adami.

Algonkian Sites of Westmoreland and Fayette Counties, Pennsylvania, by Robert M. Engberg and George S. Fisher; *Captain Samuel A. Craig's Memoirs of Civil War and Reconstruction*; *The Pioneer Iron Industry in Western Pennsylvania,* by George W. Hughes; *The Intellectual Life of Pittsburgh, 1786-1836,* by Edward Park Anderson; and *The French Architect of the Allegheny City Hall,* by Emilie McCreery, are the articles included in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for July.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly for July contains a number

of articles and papers. Among those of interest to the student of Iowa history are the following: *Cavelier de La Salle Takes Possession of Louisiana,* by Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, translated by Andre Lafargue; *The First Law Regulating Land Grants in French Colonial Louisiana,* translated by Henry P. Dart; and *The Adventures of Denis Braud, First Printer of Louisiana,* by Henry P. Dart, translations by Laura L. Porteous.

John Brown's Last Letter, by Clarence S. Gee; *Membership in the General Assembly of Ohio,* by B. H. Pershing; and *The Miami Purchase of John Cleves Symmes,* are three of the articles in the April issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.* The three articles which appear in the July number are the following: *Explorations of the Seip Group of Prehistoric Earthworks,* by Henry C. Shetrone and Emerson F. Greenman; *Chief Little Jim, Great-Grandson of Tecumseh*; and *The First Purely Republican Form of Government in America,* by William M. Pettit.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for January contains a report of the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration at Rock Island in September, 1930. It includes the following articles: *Col. Conrad Weiser, Pioneer, Soldier, Diplomat, Judge, Provincial Interpreter,* by Mrs. K. T. Anderson; *Lincoln's Early Political Background,* by Louis A. Warren; *Dr. John Gale, A Pioneer Army Surgeon,* by Irving S. Cutter; *The British-Indian Attack on Pain Court (St. Louis),* by Stella M. Drumm; *A Forgotten Hero of Rock Island,* by M. M. Quaife; and *1780 — The Revolution at Crisis in the West,* by Theodore Calvin Pease.

Superimposed Aboriginal Implement, by Geo. A. West; *Silver Ornaments from Grand Butte,* by Geo. Overton; *The American Indian in Painting and Sculpture,* by Herbert W. Kuhm; *Lake Poygan Indians,* by Arthur Gerth; *The Vertebral Pathology of Prehistoric Wisconsin Indians,* by Alton K. Fisher; and *An Unusual Type of Copper Knife,* by W. C. McKern are short articles in *The Wisconsin Archeologist* for April. The August issue includes the following: *Two Bone Implements from Sheboygan,* by M. S. Thomson; *Grooved Axes of the Keokuk Type,* by C. R. Keyes; and *The Non-professional Archeologist,* by A. H. Sanford.

The Statehood Contest in Ohio, by Randolph C. Downes; *Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement,* by Richard H. Shryock; *The Story of the Perpetual Emigration Fund,* by Gustive O. Larson; *The Labor and Immigration Problem of South Carolina During Reconstruction,* by R. H. Woody; *The Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association,* by John W. Oliver; and *Journey of a Party of Cherokee Emigrants,* a journal kept by Dr. C. Lillybridge in 1837, edited by Grant Foreman, are articles and papers in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September.

The summer number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains the following articles and papers: *The School of Music of the University of Michigan,* by Charles A. Sink; *Michigan Federation of Music Clubs — 1925-1930,* by Adelaide Terbush; *The Hackley Gallery of Art,* by Frank Atwood Almy; *An Historic Community House,* by S. Alicia Poole; *The Old Ten Eyck Tavern,* by Henry A. Haigh; *The Big Mound at Springwells,* by H. L. Spooner; *Indian War Council Held at Detroit in 1700,* by William Renwick Riddell; *Letters from Long Ago,* compiled by Anna Brockway Gray; *Michigan's Last "Real Daughter",* by Harriett Barrett Sage; *Recollections of Detroit Medical Life in the 80's and 90's,* by Hugo Erichsen; and *Escanaba and City Management,* by M. C. Peterson.

The Missouri Historical Review for July contains a number of papers and articles among which are the following: *Pioneer Days in "Old Sparta",* by Sara Lockwood Williams; *Benjamin H. Reeves,* by F. A. Culmer; part three of *Joseph Pulitzer,* by George S. Johns; part four of *Joseph B. McCullagh,* by Walter B. Stevens; a third installment of *John Evans, Explorer and Surveyor,* by A. P. Nasatir; and a fourth chapter of *The St. Louis School of Thought,* by Cleon Forbes. Part one of *Selections from the Autobiography of Governor T. T. Crittenden; Missouri's First Railroad,* by R. B. Oliver; *The Kansas City Charter of 1875,* by Thomas S. Barclay; and continuations of *Joseph B. McCullagh,* by Walter B. Stevens; part four of *Joseph Pulitzer,* by George S. Johns; and

The St. Louis School of Thought, by Cleon Forbes, are articles and papers in the October number.

Minnesota History for June contains the following articles and papers: *A Visit to Farther-and-Gay Castle,* by William W. Folwell; *Sod Houses and Prairie Schooners,* by William A. Marin; and *Minnesota as Seen by Travelers, A Western Jaunt in 1850,* a series of letters written by John C. Laird, and edited by Grace Lee Nute. Under *Notes and Documents,* Stanley H. Anonsen contributes *A School Project in Local Historical Research.* The September number contains three articles: *Itasca Studies,* by Edward C. Gale and Irving H. Hart; *Joseph Renville of Lac Qui Parle,* by Gertrude W. Ackermann; and *Pioneer Norwegian Settlement in Minnesota,* by Carlton C. Qualey. There is also a report of the State Historical Convention of 1931 under the heading, *Historical Exploring in the "Arrowhead Country".* Under *Notes and Documents* is *The Birch Cooley Monument,* by Robert K. Boyd, and *The Sioux War Stockades,* by John R. Howard.

The First Kirmess, by Lee W. Metzner; chapter six of the *Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford; Yankee-Teuton Rivalry in Wisconsin Politics of the Seventies,* by Herman J. Deutsch; *Notes on the Distribution of the Foreign-born Scandinavian in Wisconsin in 1905,* by Guy-Harold Smith; and *The Agency House at Fort Winnebago,* by Louise Phelps Kellogg, are the articles which appear in the June number of *The Wisconsin Magazine of History. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin in the Eighties,* by John B. Sanborn; *Rollin D. Salisbury, M. A. LL. D., A Biographical Sketch,* by Hiram D. Densmore; and a continuation of the *Memoirs of Mary D. Bradford,* are the articles in the issue for September. Under *Documents* there is the *California Diary of Charles M. Tuttle, 1859.* Under the heading *Editorial Comment,* Joseph Schafer contributes an interesting biographical sketch of Frederick Jackson Turner.

IOWANA

Early Davenport, by Harry Downer, has been multigraphed and distributed by the Friendly House at Davenport.

The Wallace Publishing Company of Des Moines has recently issued a *Work Book in Iowa History,* compiled by John Ely Briggs.

W. L. Wallace of the Iowa State Teachers College has prepared a pamphlet on the history of Iowa, under the title, *Story of Iowa.*

Under the title, *They Fought the Flames, The Northwestern Bell* for August contains a story of the fire at Spencer on June 27, 1931.

The September number of *The Iowa Odd Fellow* contains a short biographical sketch of J. C. Koonz, a prominent member of the lodge in this State.

The Executive Council of Iowa has recently issued a booklet entitled *Iowa Facts.* This is intended to answer some of the questions often asked about the State.

A biographical sketch of Amos Norris Alberson and a eulogy of him by Charles A. Dewey appear in the *Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M.* for September.

The First Baptist Church at Fort Dodge has recently issued a booklet commemorating its sixtieth anniversary. It contains a *History of the First Baptist Church of Fort Dodge,* by C. G. Wright.

The First Printing at Council Bluffs, by Douglas C. McMurtrie; *The Place-Names of Van Buren County, Iowa,* by T. J. Fitzpatrick; and a continuation of *Abandoned Towns, Villages and Post Offices,* by David C. Mott, are the three contributions in the *Annals of Iowa* for July.

A Narrative History of The People of Iowa, by Edgar Rubey Harlan, has recently been published in five volumes. The first two volumes present the history of the State as a whole; the remaining three volumes contain biographical sketches of men and women of Iowa. Volume I contains an index, including the names of persons in the three volumes of biographies. A number of footnotes are provided for the two historical volumes.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Ackerson, Luton,
Children's Behavior Problems (Behavior Research Fund Monographs). Chicago : University of Chicago Press. 1931.

Aitchison, Alison E., (Joint author)
North America by Plane and Train. Indianapolis : Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1931.

Aldrich, Bess Streeter,
A White Bird Flying. New York : D. Appleton and Company. 1931.

Arnold, Ralph,
House With the Magnolias. New York : Dial Press. 1931.

Arnold, Ralph, (Joint author)
Petroleum in the United States and Possessions. New York : Harper and Brothers. 1931.

Bashe, Edwin J., (Joint author)
A Bibliographical Guide to Old English (University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. IV, No. 5). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Beadle, John A.,
In the Shadow of the Windmill (The Midland, August, 1931).

Bedell, Forest L.,
Pleading Negligence in Iowa (Iowa Law Review, June, 1931).

Branch, E. Douglas,
Westward, The Romance of the American Frontier. New York : D. Appleton and Company. 1930.

Brown, Bernice,
Speaking of Farnsworth (Collier's, March 21, 1931).

Butler, Ellis Parker,
Abode of Splendor (The Delineator, April, 1931).
Aunt Emma and the Devil's Ditch (The American Magazine, October, 1931).

Buy A Dog, Lady? (The American Mercury, July, 1931).
Great Deception (The American Mercury, September, 1931).
Suspicion (North American Review, June, 1931).

Carlson, Gretchen,
The Hobo Convention (The Palimpsest, July, 1931).

Carlson, Harold S.,
Information and Certainty in Political Opinions: A Study of University Students During a Campaign (University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. IV, No. 1). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman,
Party Clean-Ups Are the Crying Need (Woman's Journal, April, 1931).

Chapple, Joseph Mitchell,
Career of Heart Throbs (Publisher's Weekly, March 14, 1931).

Colegrove, Kenneth W.,
International Control of Aviation. Boston : World Peace Foundation. 1931.
The Japanese Privy Council (The American Political Science Review, August, 1931).

Cook, Elizabeth,
Let's Be Romantic (The Delineator, August, 1931).

Crowell, Grace Noll,
Negro Choir (poem) (Good Housekeeping, August, 1931).
Prayer for a Day's Walk (poem) (Good Housekeeping, May, 1931).
There is a Room (poem) (Good Housekeeping, July, 1931).
The Universal Mother (Storm Lake Pilot-Tribune, July 16, 1931).

Dean, Graham M.,
Daring Wings. New York : Goldsmith Publishing Company. 1931.

Dickinson, Lester Jesse,
Crops and Courage in Iowa (The Review of Reviews, August, 1931).

Dyall, Martha Thomas,
The Harlan Home (The Palimpsest, September, 1931).

Erwin, Arthur Thomas,
Louis Hermann Pammel (Science, June 5, 1931).

Ferber, Edna,
American Beauty (novel) (Ladies' Home Journal, July, August, September, October, 1931).

Gallaher, Ruth A.,
The Wittenmyer Diet Kitchens (The Palimpsest, September, 1931).

Garland, Hamlin,
Mrs. Ripley's Trip (Golden Book Magazine, April, 1931).

Garretson, O. A.,
A Famous War Horse (The Palimpsest, September, 1931).

Gilmore, Eugene A.,
The Development of Law in the Philippines (Iowa Law Review, June, 1931).

Gode, Marguerite,
Finds Two Turtles Paddling Round! (Better Homes and Gardens, June, 1931).

Gould, Gerald,
Composite Fiction (Living Age, April, 1931).

Hall, Charles E.,
Pen Sketches of the Big Woods (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1931).

Hearst, James,
The Body of One (The Midland, July, 1931).

Hebard, Grace Raymond,

Washakie. Glendale, California : Arthur H. Clark Company. 1930.

Hegner, Robert W.,

Practical Zoology. New York : The Macmillan Company. 1931.

Heusinkveld, Arthur H., (Joint author)

A Bibliographical Guide to Old English (University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. IV, No. 5). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Hicks, James Allan,

The Acquisition of Motor Skill in Young Children (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. IV, No. 5). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

Hoeltje, Hubert H.,

Some Iowa Lectures and Conversations of Amos Bronson Alcott (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1931).

Hoyt, Elizabeth Ellis,

Value of Family Living on Iowa Farms (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 281). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1931.

Hueston, Ethel Powelson, (Mrs. E. J. Best)

Birds Fly South. New York : Grosset and Dunlap. 1930.

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Masonic Jurisprudence (Bulletin of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, A. F. & A. M., September, 1931).

Kay, George F.,

Classification and Duration of the Pleistocene Period (Bulletin of the Geological Society of America, Vol. XLII, pp. 425-466).

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Grooved Axes of the Keokuk Type (The Wisconsin Archeologist, August, 1931).

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Great American Libraries (National Republic, June, 1931).

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Concentration of Control in American Industry. New York : Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1931.

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Varieties of Tree Fruits for Iowa Planting (Agricultural Experiment Station Circular, No. 131). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1931.

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I See With My Ears (The Atlantic Monthly, July, 1931).

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Responsible Government in Prince Edward Island (University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. IX, No. 4). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

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Waffles (Ladies' Home Journal, April, 1931).

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The Changing Urban Neighborhood (University of Southern California Studies, Social Science Series No. 1). Los Angeles : University of Southern California. 1929.

McFee, Inez N.,
How Our Government is Run. New York : Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1931.

McNeely, Marian Hurd,
Winning Out. New York : Longmans, Green and Co. 1931.

Madsen, Iver N.,
To Mark or Not to Mark? (The Elementary School Journal, June, 1931).

Manning, John W.,
Aids to City Replanning (The Survey, August, 1931).

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Notes on Iowa Fungi, 1929-30 (University of Iowa Studies in Natural History, Vol. XIII, No. 5). Iowa City : State University of Iowa. 1931.

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Flower Gardens of Hawaii (Travel, April, 1931).

Miller, James Nevin,
Navy Rids Airplanes of Deadly Gas (Popular Science Monthly, March, 1931).

Millikan, Robert Andrews,
Albert A. Michelson (Science, May 22, 1931).

Moorhead, Frank Graham,
Broke at Fifty-five (The Nation, May 13, 1931).

Mullett, Mary B.,
He Started at the End of His Rope (The American Mercury, April, 1931).

Neidig, William Jonathan,
Double-Cross (The Saturday Evening Post, March 21, 1931).
Maumee Pearls (The Saturday Evening Post, May 30, 1931).

Petersen, William J.,
Kearny in Iowa (The Palimpsest, August, 1931).

Piper, Edwin Ford,
Pie Night (The Midland, September, 1931).

Prentice, Ezra Parmalee,
Type in the History of Dairy Cattle (Nineteenth Century and After, June, 1931).

Quaife, M. M.,
A Forgotten Hero of Rock Island (Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, January, 1931).

Reck, Franklin M.,
Sergeant Pinky. New York : Dodd, Mead and Company. 1931.

Reuter, Edward Byron, (Joint author)
The Family; Source Materials for the Study of Family and Personality. New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1931.

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MacDowell's Protesting Demon (The American Mercury, August, 1931).

Robotka, Frank,
Retail Credit in Iowa Farmers' Elevators (Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin, No. 283). Ames : Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. 1931.

Runner, Jessie Ridgway, (Joint author)
The Family; Source Materials for the Study of Family and Personality. New York : McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1931.

Schmidt, G. Perle,
A Prayer for Pomunangwet (The Harvard [Mass.] Hillside, August 15, 1931).

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Peter Begins the Journey (Better Homes and Gardens, June, 1931).

Suckow, Ruth, (Mrs. Ferner Nuhn)
Children and Older People. New York : Alfred A. Knopf. 1931.

Swisher, Jacob A.,
The Iowa Academy of Science (The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, July, 1931).
Iowa State Parks (The Palimpsest, June, 1931).

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The Sheldall School (The Palimpsest, September, 1931).

Wallin, John Edward Wallace,
Requirements for Teachers of Special Classes in Baltimore (School Life, June, 1931).

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Puzzle for Politicians (The Nation, July 8, 1931).

Wearin, Otha D.,
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Weber, Lee Andrew,
Octogenarian (poem) (Harper's Monthly Magazine, June, 1931).

Whicher, George Frisbie,
Shakespeare for America (The Atlantic Monthly, June, 1931).

Williamson, Thames Ross,
The Flood-Fighters; A Boy's Adventure with the Raging Mississippi. Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co. 1931.

Wilson, Ben Hur,
Ian Maclaren (The Palimpsest, July, 1931).

Wirt, Mrs. Mildred A.,
Ruth Darrow and the Coast Guard. Newark, N. J. : Barse and Hopkins. 1931.
Ruth Darrow in Yucatan. Newark, N. J. : Barse and Hopkins. 1931.

Yoder, Dale,
Some Economic Implications of Unemployment Insurance (The Quarterly Journal of Economics, August, 1931).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

W. S. Simpson tells of old times at Glenwood, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune,* June 1, 1931.

Early days in Clinton County, in the *Jackson* (Maquoketa) *Sentinel,* June 2, 9, 1931.

History of oldest Masonic lodge in Greene County, in the *Jefferson Bee,* June 3, 1931.

Historical sketch of Jefferson schools, in the *Jefferson Bee,* June 3, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Samuel Walker Beyer, educator, in the *Ames Tribune,* June 3, 1931.

Early days in Adel, in the *Dallas County* (Adel) *News,* June 3, 1931.

Mrs. J. D. Hall tells of pioneer hardships, in the *Jefferson Bee,* June 3, 1931.

History of Lakin's Grove, in the *Jewell Record,* June 4, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Abbie Probasco, in the *Arlington News,* June 4, 1931.

E. G. Diller has map of Iowa printed in 1851, in the *Bloomfield Democrat,* June 4, 1931.

George Morey settled at Pleasanton in 1852, in the *Lamoni Chronicle,* June 4, 1931.

Sigourney named after American poet, in the *Keokuk County* (Sigourney) *News,* June 4, 1931.

Lively political rallies in Washington County in 1860, in the *Washington Journal,* June 6, 1931.

Pioneers came to Cedar County in 1836, in the *Muscatine Journal,* June 6, 1931.

Early days in Dublin, Iowa, by Winifred Carris, in the *Washington Courier,* June 6, 1931.

George E. Roberts tells of early "Boom" days in Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* June 7, 1931.

Snakes infested Hardin County, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* June 8, 1931.

Sioux Indians once roamed Hamilton County, in the *Webster City Journal,* June 8, 1931.

Charles Aldrich established first paper in Webster City, in the *Webster City Journal,* June 8, 1931.

C. H. Benford oldest printer in Shenandoah, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel,* June 8, 1931.

History of First Methodist Church of Centerville, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* June 8, 1931.

W. W. Bisby recalls early days at Clarinda, in the *Clarinda Herald,* June 9, 1931.

Sketch of labor movement in Iowa, by Joseph F. Byrne, in the *Ottumwa Courier,* June 9, 1931.

Pioneer mill built in 1857, in the *Hardin County* (Iowa Falls) *Citizen,* June 11, 1931.

Jane Hornbeck was offered Kirkwood Hotel site in trade for saddle, in the *Des Moines Tribune,* June 1, 1931.

Unearth original cornerstone of Sheldon, in the *Sheldon Mail,* June 10, 1931.

Early towns in western Iowa, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* June 10, 1931.

Sketch of the life of G. J. Shoemaker, in the *Hawarden Independent,* June 11, 1931.

Arthur L. Lesan writes early history of Lesanville, in the *Mount Ayr Record-News,* June 11, 18, 25, 1931.

J. J. Taylor finds books and papers of early days, in the *Forest City Republican,* June 11, 1931.

Old Indian trail discovered near Manson, in the *Rolfe Arrow,* June 11, 1931.

Sketch of the life of R. M. Wright, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle* and the *Des Moines Tribune,* June 12, 1931.

Drake's Church near Wellsburg is sixty years old, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* June 12, 1931.

Early days in Cherokee, in the *Cherokee Times,* June 12, 13, 1931.

Historical sketch of Nevada Lutheran Church, in the *Nevada Journal,* June 13, 1931.

John Pederson came to Mitchell County in 1856, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* June 13, 1931.

Early days in Centerville, by H. B. Williams, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* June 13, 1931.

Story of Lansing, by S. Frances Hartley, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* June 14, 1931.

Many Iowa towns will celebrate seventy-fifth year, in the *Des Moines Register,* June 14, 1931.

Early days in Linn County, by Bob Houston, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* June 14, 1931.

J. C. Harvey tells of Mormon Trail, in the *Centerville Iowegian,* June 15, 1931.

Amana colonies face breakdown of communism, by John R. Battin, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* June 15, and the *Des Moines Register,* June 16, 1931.

Pleasant Chapel cemetery contains many pioneers, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* June 16, 1931.

P. E. O. has many chapters in Iowa, in the *Grinnell Herald,* June 16, 1931.

Grinnell cyclone took many lives, in the *Grinnell Herald,* June 16, 1931.

First settlers came to Palo Alto County in 1856, in the *Palo Alto* (Emmetsburg) *Tribune,* June 17, 1931.

Early days in Osage, in the *Mitchell County* (Osage) *Press,* June 17, 1931.

History of Lowell Mills, in the *Salem News,* June 18, 1931.

First military company in Page County, in the *Clarinda Herald,* June 18, 1931.

Early life in Cerro Gordo County, by Mrs. C. B. Seabury, in the *Clear Lake Reporter,* June 18, 1931.

Prairie fires once swept Iowa, by George A. Ide, in the *Afton Star-Enterprise,* June 18, 1931.

Early days in Hardin County, by Mrs. Helen Kibbee, in the *Hardin County* (Eldora) *Ledger,* June 18, 1931.

Abandoned towns in Mahaska County, by David C. Mott, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* June 18, 1931.

Diamond jubilee of Traer Congregational Church, in the *Traer Star-Clipper,* June 19, 1931.

History of Washington City Hall, by Orval Korf, in the *Washington Journal,* June 20, 1931.

Former Iowan center of political fight in Czechoslovakia, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* June 23, 1931.

Lansing celebrates building of Black Hawk Bridge, in the *Allamakee Journal and Lansing Mirror,* June 24, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Reverend John Martin Baker, by A. W. Armstrong, in the *Perry Free Press,* June 24, 1931.

Lutheran Church in Bremer County is seventy-five years old, in the *Bremer County* (Waverly) *Independent,* June 25, 1931.

Mrs. Nancy J. Hurst is southwestern Iowa pioneer, in the *Sidney Argus-Herald,* June 25, 1931.

Bryan E. Evans has old wall map of Mahaska County, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* June 25, 1931.

J. N. Miller began newspaper in 1871, in the *Sac City Sun,* June 25, 1931.

Early days in Mills County, in the *Malvern Leader,* June 25, 1931.

Stagecoaching in early Iowa, in the *Moville Mail,* June 25, and the *Perry Chief,* June 30, 1931.

E. H. Williams saw buffalo near Charles City in 1846, in the *Fayette County* (Fayette) *Leader,* June 25, 1931.

Early history of Story City, in the *Webster City Journal,* June 27, 1931.

Mrs. Jennie Penfield was first postal clerk in Union Township, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican,* June 29, 1931.

Iowa woman is daughter of first railroad engineer, in the *Perry Chief,* June 30, 1931.

Sketch of the life of William Louden, by Herbert F. McDougal, in the *Fairfield Ledger,* June 30, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Joanna Harris Haines, in the *Grinnell Herald,* June 30, 1931.

Sketch of the life of John T. Hazen, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* June 30, and the *Avoca Journal-Herald,* July 2, 1931.

Sidney A. Foster was early Iowa pioneer, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* July 2, 1931.

Mrs. C. B. Silsby tells of early boating on Clear Lake, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette,* July 2, 1931.

Reminiscences of early days in Iowa, by Marion R. Drury, in the *Toledo Chronicle,* July 2, 9, 16, 23, 30, August 6, 13, 1931.

Washington celebrated arrival of railroad, in the *Washington Journal,* July 3, 1931.

Early history of Dysart, in the *Traer Star-Clipper,* July 3, 10, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Silas Whitehead Condit, pioneer, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* July 3, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Joseph D. Barnes, Scott County pioneer, in the *Davenport Times,* July 3, 1931.

Mrs. George De Wald is descendant of signer of Declaration of Independence, in the *Burlington Hawkeye,* July 5, 1931.

Louis Gibeau drove ox teams from Sioux City to Dakota, in the *Sioux City Journal,* July 5, 1931.

Iowans fought at Shiloh, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* July 5, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Sarah Ann Graham, in the *Chariton Leader,* July 7, 1931.

Early days in Waverly, by Mrs. Jennie Case, in the *Bremer County* (Waverly) *Independent,* July 9, 1931.

Pomeroy cyclone took many lives, in the *Rockwell City Advocate,* July 9, 1931.

Amor Kelly unearths Louisa County historical documents, in the *Columbus Junction Gazette,* July 9, 1931.

Louisa County pioneers strong temperance advocates, in the *Columbus Junction Gazette,* July 9, 1931.

J. F. Grawe has edited *Bremer County Independent* since 1890, in the *Bremer County* (Waverly) *Independent,* July 9, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Frank F. Merriam, in the *Manchester Press,* July 9, 1931.

Find prehistoric skeletons near Honey Creek, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* July 9, 1931.

Pioneers delayed by flooded rivers, in the *Tama News-Herald,* July 9, 1931.

Ralph Brownell Dennis born in Iowa, in the *Traer Star-Clipper,* July 10, 1931.

Find marriage record of Jesse C. Hoover and Huldah Minthorn, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* July 10, 1931.

Sketch of the history of Cedar Rapids, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* July 12, 1931.

Governor of Iowa has many duties, by Curtis Hay, Jr., in the *Cedar Falls Record,* July 13, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Benjamin I. Salinger, in the *Carroll Herald,* July 14, and the *Carroll Times,* July 15, 1931.

Frolics in the frivolous nineties, by Florence R. Forbes, in the *Pocahontas Democrat,* July 16, 1931.

Sketch of the life of J. P. Mathews, in the *Tipton Advertiser,* July 16, 1931.

Mitchell County planned electric railroad line, in the *Osage News,* July 16, 1931.

Joseph Hobson drove ox team across Iowa, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* July 16, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Mary E. Leach, women's club organizer, in the *Bedford Republican,* July 16, 1931.

Mrs. I. S. Miller recalls steamboat days on Cedar River, in the *Waterloo Courier,* July 17, 1931.

John Conwell has valuable collection of envelope covers, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* July 19, 1931.

Sketch of the history of the Glenwood Methodist Church, in the *Glenwood Opinion-Tribune,* July 20, 1931.

Milo S. Mills is early Plymouth County pioneer, in the *Le Mars Sentinel,* July 21, 1931.

W. M. Barr, Iowan, is chemist for Union Pacific Railroad, in the *West Union Gazette,* July 22, 1931.

Graves of pioneers of Greene County recorded, in the *Jefferson Bee,* July 22, 1931.

Steve Burk house is Hardin County landmark, in the *Eldora Herald-Ledger,* July 23, 1931.

Monument to William F. Cody erected in Cody, Wyoming, in the *Ida Grove Pioneer-Record,* July 23, 1931.

Early facts about Hardin County, in the *Eldora Herald-Ledger,* July 23, 1931.

Old Story County towns, in the *Roland Record,* July 23, 1931.

Historic Cass County sites, in the *Lewis Standard,* July 23, 1931.

Edmund and Thomas E. Booth edited paper over fifty years, in the *Anamosa Eureka,* July 23, 1931.

Hayden Chapel celebrates seventy-sixth anniversary, in the *Albia Republican,* July 23, 1931.

First settlers at Farmington, in the *Farmington News-Republican,* July 23, 1931.

Mrs. P. S. Davis was first Eldora stenographer, in the *Eldora Herald-Ledger,* July 23, 1931.

Unearth eighteen skeletons near Stratford, in the *Des Moines Register,* July 23, and the *Fort Dodge Messenger & Chronicle,* July 25, 1931.

Story of Washington Academy (1900-1903), in the *Washington Journal,* July 25, 1931.

First bridge at Waterloo erected in 1859, in the *Waterloo Courier and Tribune,* July 26, 1931.

Clermont Memorial Church erected in 1869, by Florence L. Clark, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette,* July 26, 1931.

B. A. Dolan has old map of Half-Breed Tract, in the *Keokuk Gate City,* July 27, 1931.

Sketch of the life of John King Cooper, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil,* July 28, 1931.

Early history of Butler County, in the *Allison Tribune,* July 29, 1931.

Sketch of the history of Clinton, in the *Clinton Herald,* July 29, 1931.

Mormon trace runs through main street of Floris, in the *Denison Review,* July 29, 1931.

John Markgraf recalls old times in Kossuth County, in the *Whittemore Champion,* July 29, 1931.

Grasshoppers drove many homesteaders from O'Brien County, in the *Hartley Sentinel,* July 30, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Mrs. Lucinda Gray, in the *Sidney Argus,* July 30, 1931.

Find old pottery kiln on Eddie Guthrie farm, in the *Seymour Herald,* July 30, 1931.

Winnebago still weave baskets in Allamakee County, in the *McGregor Times,* July 30, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Senator W. H. Klemme, in the *Decorah Public Opinion,* July 30, 1931.

O. D. Smalley first to raft wagons across Des Moines River, in the *Madrid Register-News,* July 30, 1931.

Old timers recall grasshopper plagues, by Harry D. Aspleaf, in the *Sioux City Tribune,* August 1, 1931.

Jacob Greaser drove stage from Muscatine to Iowa City, in the *Iowa City Press-Citizen,* August 1, 1931.

Original plat of Clinton owned by J. Q. Jeffries, in the *Clinton Herald,* August 1, 1931.

Mammoth fossils found in Tarkio River south of Blanchard, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel,* August 4, 1931.

Mrs. Nancy Clark recalls pioneer times in Dallas County, in the *Des Moines Tribune*, August 5, 1931.

B. M. McKeen describes Pomeroy cyclone, in the *Sac City Sun*, August 6, 1931.

Cyclone in Hardin County in 1860, in the *Hardin County* (Iowa Falls) *Citizen*, August 6, 1931.

Glenwood Methodist Church seventy-five years old, in the *Malvern Leader*, August 6, 1931.

Pioneer days in Montgomery County, by W. M. Moore, in the *Villisca Review*, August 7, 1931.

First mill in Carroll County, in the *Coon Rapids Enterprise*, August 7, 1931.

Find Butler County land patent for service in War of 1812, in the *Waterloo Courier*, August 8, 1931.

Miss Tina Anthony has taught fifty years in Iowa, in the *Harlan Tribune*, August 12, 1931.

Quaker church on Honey Creek established in 1852, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, August 12, 1931.

Mass meeting at Eddyville in 1850 to consider toll bridge over Des Moines River, in the *Eddyville Tribune*, August 13, 1931.

History of Alden dam, by G. O. and G. F. Bigelow, in the *Alden Times*, August 13, 1931.

Charles W. McDaniel, Corning tinner, invented many telephone devices, in the *Adams County* (Corning) *Free Press*, August 13, 1931.

Description of Volga City in 1874, in the *Volga City News*, August 19, 1931.

Pioneers faced many dangers in Crawford County, in the *Denison Review*, August 19, 1931.

Gold rush to Hardin County in 1853, in the *Hardin County* (Iowa Falls) *Citizen*, August 20, 1931.

Early days in Keystone, in the *Keystone Bulletin,* August 20, 1931.

Washington Democrat first published by E. B. Boles in 1860, in the *Washington Journal,* August 22, 1931.

Mrs. Louise C. Johnson was pioneer of Wapello County, in the *Oskaloosa Herald,* August 22, 1931.

Molly Koeneker recalls old times in Dubuque County, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald,* August 23, 1931.

First school at Whiting begun in 1874, in the *Whiting Argus,* August 26, 1931.

S. H. McMasters has over 10,000 old coins, in the *Bremer County* (Waverly) *Independent,* August 26, 1931.

Stories of Indians in Iowa, by C. L. Lucas, in the *Stratford Courier,* August 27, 1931.

Beginnings of Bondurant, in the *Altoona Herald,* August 27, 1931.

Early days in Van Buren County, by Mrs. Emma Hilpert, in the *Farmington News,* August 27, 1931.

Isaac Pidgeon came to Iowa in 1835, in the *Brighton Enterprise,* August 27, 1931.

Many old relics displayed at Montezuma homecoming, in the *Grinnell Herald,* August 28, 1931.

Sketch of the life of Frank A. Secord, pioneer stage driver, in the *Sioux City Tribune,* August 29, 1931.

Education in Washington County in 1862, in the *Washington Journal,* August 29, 1931.

Nevada sought State capital, in the *Ames Tribune,* August 31, 1931.

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has decided to retain its original name for the present, because of some irregularity in the procedure by which the name was changed at the Annual Meeting on March 26, 1931.

A new Laboratory of Anthropology has recently been opened at Santa Fe, New Mexico. Speakers were Director Jesse L. Nusbaum of the Laboratory, Governor Arthur Seligman of New Mexico, Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, and Dr. A. V. Kidder of Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts.

Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, who was elected superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society in June, took up his work on September 1, 1931. Dr. Blegen succeeded Dr. Solon J. Buck who resigned to take a position at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he is head of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, director of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and professor of history in the University of Pittsburgh.

The Indiana Historical Society and the Society of Indiana Pioneers made an historical pilgrimage on June 20 and 21, 1931, beginning at Indianapolis. The party visited the Spring Mill State Park, Paoli, Tell City, Cannelton, Lincoln City, St. Meinrad's Abbey, and West Baden. At Lincoln City the members of the party visited the grave of Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Another trip to places of historical interest will be made late in October.

The annual business meeting of the Agricultural History Society was held at Washington, D. C., on May 6, 1931. The program included a paper by A. G. McCall on "The Development of Soil Science" and the presidential address by Avery O. Craven on "Edmund Ruffin, Farmer". Joseph Schafer, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, was elected president for 1931-1932;

W. Freeman Galpin, of Syracuse University, vice president; and O. C. Stine, of the United States Department of Agriculture, secretary-treasurer.

IOWA

A bronze marker in honor of Zachariah Lawrence, a soldier of the War of 1812, was dedicated at Corning on June 14, 1931.

Early in June alumni and friends of Drake University observed the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the school.

On September 28, 1931, *The Des Moines Register* began a weekly series of lessons on Iowa history, prepared by Hubert L. Moeller.

On June 14, 1931, the John See Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated a tablet marking the site of the first brick schoolhouse in New London.

A bronze tablet containing the names of twenty-eight Pocahontas County men who died in the service during the World War was dedicated at Pocahontas on July 4, 1931.

The Appanoose County Historical Society held its annual meeting at the Drake Public Library at Centerville on June 20, 1931. The following persons were elected as officers: Mrs. Paul Veitch, president; Mrs. A. P. Speers, vice president; and Mrs. Sherman Shore, secretary-treasurer.

Eight of the ten living members of the Pioneer Settlers' Association of Scott County attended the Diamond Jubilee meeting at the Davenport Outing Club on August 26th. The association was organized seventy-five years ago with an enrollment of approximately 800 members, all those who were born or settled in Scott County prior to December 31, 1846, being eligible to membership.

A further index to the fact that Iowa is growing older may be noted in the number of cities and counties which recently celebrated their founding. Clayton County presented a historical pageant at Elkader on July 4, 5, 1931. Mitchell County concluded a four day celebration at Osage with a pageant on July 5th. Louisa County

observed the seventy-fifth anniversary of the granting of the charter to the City of Wapello on July 15, 16, and 17. Two Clinton County cities will celebrate anniversaries this year: Clinton the seventy-fifth, and DeWitt the ninetieth. Chariton plans the celebration of its seventy-fifth birthday in June, 1932.

Many churches in Iowa have recently celebrated anniversaries. On July 5, 1931, the Kossuth Presbyterian Church celebrated its ninety-second anniversary; St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at Iowa City observed the ninetieth anniversary of the laying of the cornerstone on July 12th; the First Congregational Church of DeWitt observed its eighty-ninth birthday on July 10th; the Presbyterian Church at Salina, the Glenwood Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church at Fredericksburg recently held special programs and services in honor of their seventy-fifth anniversaries. At Locust, Iowa, the seventieth anniversary of St. John's Lutheran Church was observed on July 11 and 12, 1931.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

On August 13, 1931, William J. Petersen, Research Associate of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gave an illustrated lecture on "Early Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi" before the American School of Wild Life Protection at McGregor. The following day, August 14th, he gave a description of the voyage of the *Virginia,* the first steamboat on the Upper Mississippi River.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society : Mr. J. C. Buffington, Omaha, Nebraska; Mrs. James E. Fitzgerald, Sioux City, Iowa; Mr. Kirk Fox, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Geo. J. Fritschel, Dubuque, Iowa; Miss Juliet Hammond, Iowa City, Iowa; Mrs. J. L. Potter, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Edith Rule, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. Arthur Torson, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. George W. Webber, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Lois A. Grimm, Waukon, Iowa; Mr. Chas. K. Meyers, Denison, Iowa; Mr. Boyd Carlisle Shafer, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. W. Norris Wentworth, Madison, Wisconsin; Mrs. Albert F. Winkler, Sac City, Iowa; Mr. Chester L. Carter, Creston, Iowa; Dr. Corwin S. Cornell, Knox-

ville, Iowa; Miss Florence Knight Kent, West Union, Iowa; Mrs. Mary S. Kelleher, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. J. F. McCaffery, Clermont, Iowa; Mr. M. M. McIntire, Audubon, Iowa; Mrs. Earl J. Miller, Olds, Iowa; Miss Evelyn M. Neese, Des Moines, Iowa; Dr. Geo. L. Roark, Tabor, Iowa; Mrs. Mary E. D. Robinson, Omaha, Nebraska; and Miss Mabel Snedaker, Iowa City, Iowa.

The following persons have been enrolled as life members: Mr. L. T. Bosworth, Manly, Iowa; Mr. Joseph J. Clark, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. Wm. Cochrane, Red Oak, Iowa; Mr. J. A. Devitt, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. C. S. Harper, Ottumwa, Iowa; Mr. Charles C. Heninger, Sigourney, Iowa; Mr. Geo. A. Ide, Creston, Iowa; Mr. Geo. F. Kay, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. J. E. E. Markley, Mason City, Iowa; Mr. J. A. Miller, Cherokee, Iowa; Mr. T. J. B. Robinson, Hampton, Iowa; Mr. H. T. Rollins, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Fred W. Sargent, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. Wm. Schultz, Marengo, Iowa; Mr. Henry Silwold, Newton, Iowa; Mr. Milton A. Smith, Independence, Iowa; Mr. J. J. Snell, Boone, Iowa; Mr. U. S. Vance, Laurens, Iowa; Mr. E. P. Chase, Atlantic, Iowa; Mr. Chris Erickson, Chester, South Dakota; Mr. A. M. Fellows, Lansing, Iowa; Mr. Edward M. McCall, Fort Dodge, Iowa; Mr. Frank T. Nash, Oskaloosa, Iowa; Mr. C. H. Northup, Ollie, Iowa; Mrs. H. R. Reynolds, Camp Custer, Michigan; Mr. C. B. Upham, Washington, D. C.; Mr. E. W. Weeks, Guthrie Center, Iowa; Mr. Sudhindra Bose, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Chas. A. Herring, Fairfield, Iowa; and Mr. Geo. F. Robeson, Iowa City, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Hawkeye Natives held a special meeting on July 16, 1931, at Perkins Park at Burlington.

The twenty-ninth annual reunion of old settlers of Hamilton County was held at Bell's Mill Park on August 2, 1931. Dr. Effie McCollum Jones was the speaker of the afternoon. Officers chosen for the ensuing year were : A. B. Bell, president; A. A. Deo, vice president; S. J. Cottington, secretary; and A. P. Gleason, treasurer.

Bentonsport held its ninth annual homecoming on August 20, 1931. Many pioneer residents attended the meeting. Among the speakers were Fred Trigg, feature writer on the *Kansas City Star,* and E. R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department at Des Moines, both of whom were born in or near Bentonsport.

The forty-fifth annual reunion of the old settlers of Madison and Warren counties was held at St. Charles on August 13, 1931. The chief address was given by Robt. W. Colflesh of Des Moines. The officers chosen for 1932 were the following : Geo. A. Neal, president; H. A. Durand and John Gehringer, vice presidents; H. A. Mueller, secretary; and Oren Alexander, treasurer.

William Mackintire Salter, oldest son of Reverend William Salter, one of the Iowa Band, died at his home in Silver Lake, New Hampshire, on July 21, 1931. Mr. Salter was born at Burlington, Iowa, and was seventy-eight years of age. From 1909 to 1913 Mr. Salter was a special lecturer in the department of philosophy in the University of Chicago. He was the author of a number of works on ethical, philosophical, and political subjects.

Anna Zache, a student in the high school at Mt. Vernon, won one of the State prizes offered in the National Oregon Trail Story Contest. Her subject was "An Incident in the Opening of the West", an amusing incident telling how a settler gave three Indians a bar of soap by mistake, and what happened when the red men

tried to eat the soap. The story was printed in the *Mt. Vernon Hawkeye-Record* and the *Lisbon Herald* for January 15, 1931.

The Iowa Library Association held its annual convention at Cedar Rapids on October 7-9, 1931. Among the speakers listed were Professor Harrison J. Thornton of the History Department at the State University, Mrs. May Lamberton Becker on the staff of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* Milton E. Lord, Director of Libraries at the State University of Iowa, Johnson Brigham, State Librarian from Des Moines, Lelia S. Wilson of the Iowa Library Commission, Fjeril Hess, and Carl Van Doren.

The Mesquakie Indians held their eighteenth annual powwow at Tama on August 13, 14, 15, and 16, 1931. Thousands of Iowans attended the powwow. Tribes from five States assisted in the ceremony, including Winnebago Indians from Wisconsin and Nebraska, Sacs from Oklahoma, and Pottawattamie and Kickapoo Indians from Kansas. A pageant was presented illustrating tribal history from earliest times to the present. The Tama Indian band gave several concerts. The finest Mesquakie handiwork was displayed in a wick-i-up or council lodge.

Black Hawk County pioneers held their annual reunion and picnic at Hanna's Grove on August 29, 1931. Plans were made for a memorial for Philip C. Hanna, a former consul general to Mexico. The program included short sketches of some prominent persons who were born in the county or lived there at some time. Among these were Ralph Budd, president of the Great Northern Railroad, Carl Lotus Becker, professor of history in Cornell University, and Mrs. Bess Streeter Aldrich, the writer. The new officers elected were : William T. Evans, president; J. A. Smith, vice president; and Fred P. Fisher, secretary.

Euclid Sanders, of Johnson County, died at Iowa City on June 30, 1931. Born in Iowa City on November 19, 1853, Mr. Sanders spent most of his life in that vicinity and came to be widely known as one of the pioneers. He was graduated from the State University of Iowa in 1874 with the degree of Ph. B. He entered the Law Department and in 1876 received the degree of LL.B. From

1879 until 1882 he was engaged in the United States revenue service. He then removed to Hastings, Nebraska, where he practiced law until 1885. In 1888 and 1889 he was editor of the Beatrice, Nebraska, daily *Express*.

In 1890 he returned to Iowa City and became president of the Iowa City State Bank. Banking and farm interests were matters of chief concern to him throughout the remaining years of his active career.

Mr. and Mrs. Sanders donated Terrell dam to the State University and sold the present city park site to Iowa City. For many years Mr. Sanders served as a member of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society and from 1909 until 1920 he was president of this Board. He was a prominent member of the Odd Fellow lodge, having been a member of that body for more than fifty years.

CONTRIBUTORS

Francis O. Wilcox, Graduate student in the Political Science Department of the State University of Iowa. Born at Columbus Junction, Iowa, April 9, 1908. Educated in the public schools. Received the A. B. degree from the State University of Iowa in 1930 and the M. A. degree from the same institution in 1931.

Ruth Augusta Gallaher, Associate Editor of the State Historical Society of Iowa. Author of *History of the Legal and Political Status of Women in Iowa* and joint author of *Stories of Iowa for Boys and Girls*. Also author of numerous articles in *The Palimpsest* and *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. (See *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January, 1916, p. 156.)

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